Vol. XXXVII. No. 145 *March 1948*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. John Marcus O'Sullivan .... *Mary M. Macken*
II. The Rising of 1848 .... *Denis Gwynn*
III. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra .... *Thomas J. O'Donnell*
IV. Irish Emigrants to America: 1847-1860 *Richard J. Purcell*
V. The Catholic Front in France .... *Stephen J. Brown*
VI. Elizabeth Barrett Browning .... *Elizabeth Belloc*
VII. Archbishop Malachy O'Quaelly .... *Dermot F. Gleeson*
VIII. Counsellor Terence MacDonagh .... *J. C. MacDonagh*
IX. Birds of the Countryside .... *P. G. Kennedy*
X. Irish Bardic Poems: No. 85 .... *Lambert MacKenna*
XI. Maurice Lenihan: Historian of Limerick *Francis Finegan*
XII. Some Picturesque Philosophers .... *Arthur Little*
XIII. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin

Single Copies - - - - 4s. net
Annual Subscription - Ireland and England - 17s. net
Annual Subscription - All Other Countries - 18s. net

Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

Coláiste na h-Iolscoile, Gaillimh

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i nGaeilge le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar Laidin, Gréigis, Rómhaineacht, Tíreolaíocht, Stair, Seandálaíocht, Dráchtáil, Cuntasaíocht, Geilleagar, Oideachas agus Fisic Tuirsnamhach.

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mBéarla le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar gach Dáimh léiginn dá mbaineann le Iolscoil Náisiúnta na h-Éireann.

Tairgeann an Coláiste Scoláireachta coitchiannta ar fiú £1,000 sa mbliadain agus ten a coir sin cuirtear £1,000 i n-aithbhe, gach bliadain, le h-agaid Scoláireacht do Gaeilgeoirí ar an nGaedhealtacht.

Tairgeann an Roinn Oideachais Roinnt Scoláireacht gach bliadain, le h-agaid Gaeilgeoir ar an nGaedhealtacht. Is fiú £110 an bliadain gach ceann aca. Na Mic-léiginn ar a mbronntar na Scoláireachta seo, ní mór dóib a bheit 'na Mic-léiginn sa gColáiste seo.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labairt na Gaeilge do cleachtadh taobh istigh agus taobh amuigh den Choláiste.

Tuilleamh eoluir le fagáil ó Mheabhránaidhe an Choláiste.

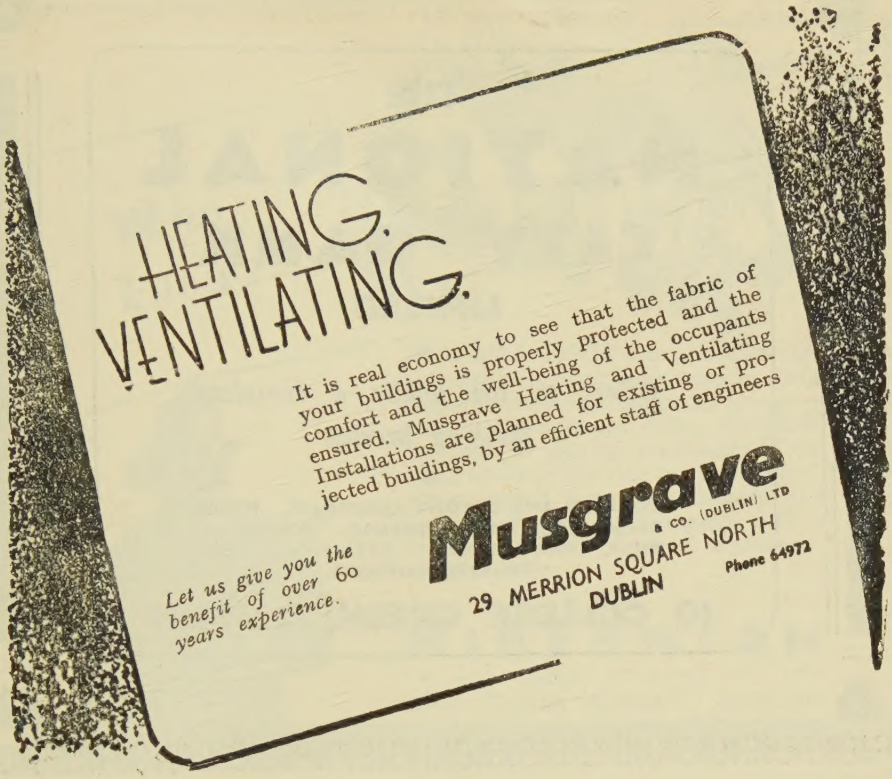
PROVIDENCE WOOLLEN MILLS

FOXFORD, CO. MAYO, IRELAND

Offer the greatest variety of pure woollen goods ever produced by an Irish mill–viz. Blankets, Rugs, Ladies' and Men's Wear, Scarves, etc.

INQUIRIES SOLICITED

Telephone No.: "Foxford 4."
Telegraphic Address: "Providence, Foxford."


HEATING.
VENTILATING.
It is real economy to see that the fabric of your buildings is properly protected and the comfort and the well-being of the occupants ensured. Musgrave Heating and Ventilating Installations are planned for existing or projected buildings, by an efficient staff of engineers
Let us give you the benefit of over 60 years experience.
Musgrave
& CO. (DUBLIN) LTD
29 MERRION SQUARE NORTH
DUBLIN
Phone 64972

COLÁISTE OLLSCOILE, CORCAIGH.

(Ollscoil na h-Éireann)

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

Lán-cúrsaí i gcóir Céimeann agus Dioplómaí in na hadhbhair seo:—

Arts *Celtic Studies* *Medicine* *Dentistry*
Science *Law* *Education* *Commerce*
Engineering *Dairy Science* *Music*

Is féidir Cúrsaí Airithe do dhéanamh tré Gaeilig.

Chun lán-eolas an Scoláireachtaí agus an Chúrsaí d'fhágáil, ní foláir gach leictir do fheiliú chun an CLÁRADÓRA.

Oibrionnaíocht chomhfhuaí le fhágáil ran **HONAN HOSTEL** ag fearaibh Caitliceacha agus i **LA RETRAITE** ag mnáibh Caitliceacha. Tuairisc iomlán oibre ran le fhágáil ó'n gCOIMEÁDAIDE agus ó'n ABHMÁCAIR pé fear. Is féidir fheirin liosta de lóistínibh ceadaighte d'fhágáil ach a long ó Rúnaidhe an Choláiste.

Some Courses can be taken through the medium of Irish.

For particulars as to Scholarships and Courses all communications should be addressed to the **Registrar.**

Comfortable accommodation is provided for Catholic men in the HONAN HOSTEL and for Catholic women in LA RETRAITE. Particulars may be obtained from the **Warden** and **Rev. Superioress** respectively. A list of approved Lodgings can also be had from the **Secretary** of the College.

THE

NATIONAL CITY BANK

LIMITED

•

Offers to the public a complete Banking Service

•

CURRENT AND DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. HOME SAFES FOR THRIFT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. BILLS DISCOUNTED. EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE BUSINESS.

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, PLATE GLASS, MOTOR, &c., &c.

Registered and Head Office **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000

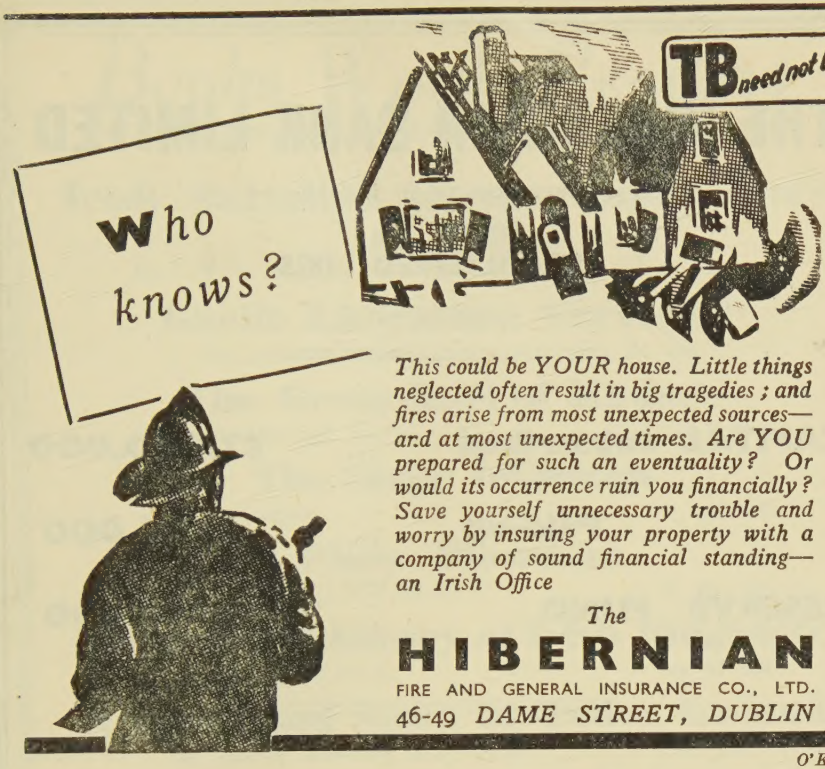
DIRECTORS

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN, Esq., F.C.A., Chairman
Rt. Hon. EARL OF WICKLOW
Major T. D. HALLINAN
F. CYRIL MARTIN
GEO. W. VERDON Esq., Managing Director
T. H. CORRIGAN, Secretary

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims

The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital

Proposal Form and all Information on application to Company's Agents or to the Company



This could be YOUR house. Little things neglected often result in big tragedies ; and fires arise from most unexpected sources—and at most unexpected times. Are YOU prepared for such an eventuality? Or would its occurrence ruin you financially? Save yourself unnecessary trouble and worry by insuring your property with a company of sound financial standing—an Irish Office

The

HIBERNIAN

FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

46-49 *DAME STREET, DUBLIN*

O'Keeffe's

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Incorporated in Ireland

ESTABLISHED 1825

CAPITAL subscribed	...	**£2,000,000**
Paid-up	...	**£500,000**
RESERVE FUND	...	**£750,000**

HEAD OFFICE

COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

SEVEN DUBLIN BRANCHES

Over One Hundred Branches and Sub-Branches throughout Ireland

The Bank undertakes the Recovery and Adjustment of INCOME TAX

The Bank also undertakes the Offices of EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE

LONDON AGENTS

LLOYDS BANK LTD., 72 LOMBARD ST., LONDON, E.C.3.

Books Worth Reading

Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860.
By G. F. H. Berkeley. 7s. 6d. net.

Gaelic Literature Surveyed
By Aodh de Blacam. 12s. 6d. net.

The Great Earl of Kildare
By Donough Bryan. 20s. net.

The Stage Irishman
By G. C. Duggan. 15s. net.

Piers Plowman
By T. P. Dunning, C.M., M.A. 8s. 6d. net.

Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography
Dr. J. S. Crone, M.R.I.A. 10s. 6d. net.

Church and State in Tudor Ireland
By Dudley Edwards, M.A., Ph.D. 18s. net.

Micheal O Cleirigh
By Rev. B. Jennings, O.F.M., B.D. 7s. 6d. net.

Echoes of the Hunting Horn
By Stanislaus Lynch. 7s. 6d. net.

Eamon de Valera
By M. J. MacManus. New enlarged and illustrated edition 7s. 6d. net.

NOTED IRISH LIVES

THOMAS DAVIS	*by J. M. Hone*	2s. 6d. net.
HENRY GRATTAN	*by Roger J. MacHugh*	2s. 6d. net.
THOMAS MOORE	*by Seamus MacCall*	2s. 6d. net.
HENRY JOY McCRACKEN	*by Edna Fitzhenry*	2s. 6d. net.
JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN	*by J. D. Sheridan*	2s. 6d. net.
OWEN ROE O'NEILL	*by Elizabeth O'Neill*	2s. 6d. net.
ARCHBISHOP MacHALE	*by Nuala Costello*	2s. 6d. net.

ON SALE AT ALL BOOKSELLERS

THE TALBOT PRESS LTD.
DUBLIN

UNIVERSITY HALL, DUBLIN

FOUNDED AND DIRECTED BY THE JESUIT FATHERS

University Hall is maintained exclusively as an academic residence for students who are pursuing their studies in University College, Dublin. The buildings stand close by the site of University College. They can accommodate seventy students—an academic community sufficiently large to furnish opportunity for the mutual culture in social intercourse which is among the most important advantages of university life and is an essential factor in university education.

TERMS

There are three Terms in the year: Michaelmas Term, from the beginning of the Session till the Christmas Vacation; Hilary Term, between Christmas and Easter; and Trinity Term, from Easter till the Summer Vacation. The opening and close of Terms coincide with the opening and close of Lectures at University College, Dublin.

Parents residing abroad can make special arrangements for Students' vacation expenses.

Applications for admission and inquiries for Fees and further information should be addressed to THE PRESIDENT
University Hall, DUBLIN

LORETO HALL

77 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin

Loreto Hall is a recognised House of Residence for Women Students attending the Lectures of University College, Dublin. Chapel attached. Daily Mass, Annual Retreat. The Terms include Tuition by Resident Staff. Ideal situation in close vicinity to University College.

For Prospectus apply to THE PRINCIPAL

A Case History of Japan

By Francis J. Horner **10/6 net**

Most of us who have given the matter any thought at all have felt perplexed, not so much by the evil in the Japanese character—evil no longer greatly surprises us—as by the combination of this evil with outstanding qualities of virtue. In this book, Mr. Horner does for Japan very much what the psychologist does for the individual.

A History of the Church

By Philip Hughes Volume III 1270-1517. 25/- net

" Fr. Hughes has written a masterly survey of history of the papacy in particular and of the Church in general."

—Times Literary Supplement

" Fr. Hughes has given us a singularly able and readable book, better still a courageous book." *—Studies*

Theology and Sanity

By F. J. Sheed **12/6 net**

" Rarely indeed is it possible to commend any book, especially a book of such range, so wholeheartedly as this. But, without reservation, it may be said that **THEOLOGY AND SANITY** is excellent." —Fr. Thomas Corbishley, S.J., in *The Catholic Herald*

" . . . it is emphatically the book for the educated adult Catholic. It is a brilliant synthesis of the Catholic conception of Life."

—The Tablet

God and Mammon

By Francois Mauriac **5/- net**

" M. Mauriac's essay on the dilemma that faces the Catholic novelist should be very welcome now that his novels are to appear in a collected English edition. **GOD AND MAMMON** was never more needed, and it should help in that process of discrimination which criticism initially demands." *—Blackfriars*

REPRINT—READY SHORTLY

A Retreat for Priests

By Ronald Knox **10/6 net**

" Mgr. Knox, whose own priestly life has been exceptional in its important specialities, here addresses his religious and secular brethren with scriptural erudition, disarming humility, and a wealth of shrewd, practical application." *—The Catholic Herald*

Please order from your bookseller

SHEED & WARD, LTD.

110-111 FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

THE
CLARENCE HOTEL

The
City's Most Modern Hotel

WELLINGTON QUAY
DUBLIN

Telephone : 76178 - 79 - 80

O'KEEFFE'S

WYNN'S HOTEL
ABBEY STREET
DUBLIN

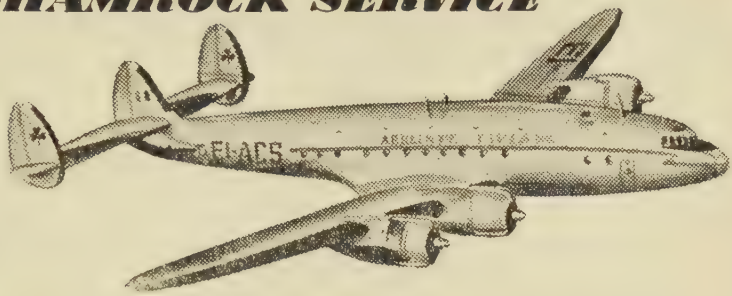
•

CENTRALLY SITUATED,
COMFORTABLE AND
CONVENIENT

PHONE : 75131

O'KEEFFE'S

THE "SILVER SHAMROCK" SERVICE



To London Make your next trip to London the newer, faster way. Relax in the easy comfort of the new 4-engined Aer Lingus Constellations and enjoy all the ease and speed of these Transatlantic 'planes. Next time you travel to London make sure it is by the Silver Shamrock Service. Make your reservation NOW—Telephone 72921.

Other fast frequent services to Shannon, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Rome.

AER LINGUS

For Reservations consult your Travel Agent, or Aer Lingus, 40 Upper O'Connell St., Dublin. 'Phone 72921

MODEL 15A

We proudly present the Pye **15A**, the new wonder radio all-mains receiver. Equipped with Fly-wheel Tuning, Pye Tonemaster and an amazing coil giving maximum signal strength. This truly unique Pye has been achieved through painstaking research, efficient production and a generous low-profit policy and is offered to you at the extremely low price of £17 17 0

PYE (IRELAND) LIMITED

Manor Works, Dundrum, Co. Dublin

SOME RECENT BOOKS

Sioladóirí

By A Christian Brother.

An absorbing account of the life and work of those two great pioneers in the field of Gaelic literature, Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan. A book which bears the stamp of extensive study and research. 4s. *net.*

Algoland

Seán Mac Maolám

An unusual type of novel about an unusual kind of country. Here is something new in Irish literature. 2s. 6d. *net.*

Dioglaim

"Leacloga"

Essays and sketches reprinted from "The Leader," "Bonaventura" and "An Glór," together with a number of talks broadcast by the author from Radio Éireann. 3s. 6d. *net.*

OBTAINABLE THROUGH ANY BOOKSELLER OR DIRECT FROM

Foilseacáin Rialtais

3-4 COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN

An Gúm

THE IRISH

TATLER

AND

SKETCH

(Established 1890)

IRELAND'S PREMIER SOCIAL MONTHLY

Contains articles by experts on Social matters, Art, Fashions of the Hour, Beauty, Golf, Motoring, Theatre, Cinema, etc., etc.

LAVISHLY ILLUSTRATED

From All Newsagents' - - Price 1/-

12 months post free - - ,, 14/-

Publishers

WILSON, HARTNELL and CO. LTD.

COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS, DUBLIN

Phone : 78551 'Grams : Hartnell, Dublin

IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

✦✦✦✦✦✦

The 'Catechismus Seu Doctrina Christiana Latino-Hibernica' of Theobald Stapleton. Brussels: 1639. Reflex facsimile. 15/-

The Irish text with its simplified spelling furnishes a valuable indication of the pronounciation of Stapleton's period.

Analecta Hibernica No. 16. .... 7s. 6d.

Including:

Preliminary Report on certain of the documents of Irish interest in the Vatican Archives, dating mainly from 1639 to 1817. Rev. E. MacFhinn, Ph.D.

Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin, together with a detailed account of the Book and a comparative study of various Latin Anglo-Irish chronicles of the 13th and 14th centuries. A. Gwynn, S.J., M.A.

The Annesley Collection. Account by R. C. Simington, D.Litt., to which earlier reports on this collection of 17th and 18th century documents are appended.

The Office of General Registrar to Courts of Claims, 1661-1669. By R. C. Simington, D.Litt.

The Shapland Carew Papers. Ed. by A. K. Longfield, M.A., LL.B. .... 15s.

Dating from late 17th to early 19th century, this collection relates to lands in Counties Wexford and Waterford. A source for economic history.

Parliaments & Councils of Mediaeval Ireland. Ed. by H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles. £1 5s.

Documents for the most part unprinted hitherto, illustrating aspects of Irish parliaments and councils in the period 1291-1421. The introduction indicates the nature of parliamentary institutions in Ireland and sources for their history.

READY SHORTLY

The 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan, O.F.M. Folio, 906 pp. Louvain: 1645. Facsimile. .... £6 6s.

A reproduction of this extremely rare volume, indispensable to students of early Irish ecclesiastical history.

Analecta Hibernica No. 17.
Comprising:

Proceedings of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. Ed. by R. B. McDowell, Ph.D.

Index of will abstracts in the Genealogical Office, Dublin. By P. B. Eustace.

Published by the Stationery Office, Dublin

Detailed catalogue of all publications of the Commission free on application to :-

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS SALES OFFICE, 3 & 4 COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN

or any bookseller.

The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart

Published Monthly. Price 2d. by Post 2½d.

Annual Subscription 2s., 6d. Post Free.

Annual Subscription to MESSENGER and MADONNA when sent together 4s. Post Free

MADONNA

Published Monthly. Price 1d. by Post 1½d.

Annual Subscription 1s. 6d., Post Free.

The Catalogue will be sent gratis and Post Free on request

timéire an chroide naomta

Published Quarterly. Price 2d., by Post 2½d.

Annual Subscription 10d., Post Free.

OFFICE OF THE IRISH MESSENGER

5 GREAT DENMARK STREET, DUBLIN

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

BROWNE AND NOLAN

announce three important forthcoming books for which they have secured the European and British Empire rights. Two of them,

COMMUNISM AND THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WEST

and

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

are by *Monsignor Fulton Sheen,* who has acquired an international reputation as a Catholic apologist and whose lectures and sermons attract immense audiences in America, where his books are best-sellers. The publishers expect to have the first book ready by the end of Spring ; and the second one, which may well prove to be Monsignor Sheen's major *opus,* in the Autumn.

The third book, namely,

THIS IS MY STORY

(also scheduled for late Spring) is by *Louis Francis Budenz,* who was formerly Editor of the New York *Daily Worker* and an ardent communist. As his faith in this ideology weakened, he clung more tenaciously to it and goaded himself into ever greater efforts on its behalf, until he could no longer deceive himself as to its true nature. It is remarkable that a talk with Monsignor Sheen marked the turning-point in his withdrawal from the mental and spiritual bondage which he describes, although his decision was not made for some years later.

BROWNE AND NOLAN LIMITED

41/42 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN

JOHN MARCUS O'SULLIVAN

Obiit 9 February 1948

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

IT is fifty, in retrospect short, years since I first met John M. in the presbytery at Millstreet, Co. Cork, where he was the guest of his uncle, Canon Charlie O'Sullivan, later Bishop of Kerry. He was then a brilliant Senior Grade Exhibitioner from Clongowes, concluding a long series of school successes and about to take off for fresh flights in the Royal University in the Jesuit-controlled College at 85 and 86 St. Stephen's Green. In person, at that time as later, comfortably rotund, he had a dome-like head, rather dreamy yet searching eyes, and a guileless if beguiling smile. We spent a pleasant afternoon being initiated into the workings of musical clocks and boxes, the collecting of which was a hobby of the Canon. Examinations past, present or to come seemed to weigh not at all on the nephew. He was offhand, insouciant, humorous and good-humoured, concealing great intellect under a modesty that was later to endear him to a wide public.

I

The background of John Marcus's undergraduate and graduate years as student in U.C.D. from 1898–1904 has been limned for us in likely and unlikely places: tabulated and sectionalized by the Jesuit Fathers in *A Page of Irish History 1883–1909*; introverted and distorted by Joyce in *Stephen Hero* and *Portrait of the Artist*. The Jesuit report, an interesting document, is made warm and personal by the contributory sketches from some actors in the scene and by the photographs and photographic groups preserving the persons of the actors. Two such groups show us John Marcus in his "habit" as a young student—not unlike one of his own sons, but with a mightier brow. In one he stands beside Joyce and is comraded by, among others, George Clancy (later the murdered mayor of Limerick), Felix Hackett, Constantine Curran, Seamus Clandillon, all destined to make a name for themselves in their separate fields.

The opening twentieth century in U.C.D. was astir with life—in politics, art, literature—both Gael and Gall. Even women graduates and undergraduates had at last got a footing within 85 and 86. There was a Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L.; a branch of the Gaelic League; an Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas (for philosophical discussions) of which John M. was co-founder with his professor William Magennis; there was the L. and H.; there were the magazines *St. Stephen's* and *Hermes* within—the *Lyceum* and *New Ireland Review* without—the walls of the College. There were sodalities and attached Library conferences and, to ensure

harmony above all, there was the Choral Union. All these were humming and buzzing in the dim and dingy halls of a practically unendowed College of an Examining Body which was not a teaching University. It was good propaganda for the demand of Catholic Ireland for a national University long overdue and, in 1908, grudgingly fulfilled. In that peaceful propaganda the young Kerryman did more than his fair share. He was reading for a Classical Scholarship ; he took Logic as well in his Second Year ; and he headed the First Class Honours list B.A. in Philosophy in 1902. All through College he took its multiple activities in his stride. He is a prize-man in Religious Knowledge and figures largely in the Sodality ; he works in the Vincent de Paul and Abstinence Groups ; he contributes at least one signed article to and is on the editorial staff of *St. Stephen's*, a magazine of which one number at least has now the value of a museum-piece in the essay on Clarence Mangan of James Joyce.

A Page of Irish History attributes the decline of the St. Thomas Aquinas Academy for 1904–1905 to the " absence in Germany of O'Sullivan " who, in 1903, had obtained his M.A. with Special Prize and in 1904 a Studentship in Philosophy. Bonn and Heidelberg were his centres and, in the latter, he was " promoted " doctor of philosophy and master of the liberal arts with the highest distinction the University could give. His diploma styles him *virum clarissimum et doctissimum* and speaks of the rigorous examination to which he had been subjected. Dr. Windelband, his professor, judged so highly of his dissertation *Vergleich der Methoden Kants und Hegels auf Grund ihrer Behandlung der kategorischen Quantität* that the young doctor was excused the usual circulation, at his own expense, of a certain number of copies to the universities, Heidelberg undertaking itself the expenses of printing this scholarly contribution to the knowledge of the subject. All that was in 1908 ; it had been made possible by his winning of the Junior Fellowship in Philosophy in 1906 in the Royal University.

These German years—with his friend Tom Kettle, too, in Innsbruck—laid the foundation of a knowledge of the west, south, and south-east German scene which could not easily be rivalled. His friends Con Curran, Arthur Clery, James Murnaghan, Felix Hackett joined the two in walking tours through town and country, so that Neckar, Rhine and Moselle, Inn, Salzach and Danube became perhaps more familiar because more strange than Liffey, Blackwater or Laune. The professor of history in U.C.D. was one of the best guides that I knew to the German country, and I never planned an extended holiday without seeking his aid first. His friends used to say, in those good old days of easy and cheap travel, that the " new " college should establish a department for the study and use of Bradshaw and that John M. was the man for the job. He took a delight in that, as he did in most of the work or play of his life. It was often hard to tell which was which so much zest did he bring to it all and

such a prodigious capacity as well. That all-round character (I can hear him protest at what he might take to be an allusion to his figure) was a marked trait in him in his student days. I remember Professor McClelland once saying of him, and he taught him Physics, that, if he had chosen to take up natural instead of mental sciences, he could have got to the top. In Classics he was a scholar ; French he read with ease, though he was shy in the oral use of it ; of German he had an excellent knowledge and, though he sometimes gave me the pleasure of helping him out with a difficulty, there was (as I often told him) never any real need of my services. He was well on the ground. His journalist acquaintances have stressed his prowess on the links ; I never put that prowess to any test. He was an ardent player of tennis and gave an excellent account of himself at Bridge. He did not seem to require either withdrawal or quiet for concentration : I have seen him at public meetings, in the intervals between matters which did and did not concern him, answer letters with apparent ease and satisfaction. It was in the same way that, at his own fireside, in the course of general conversation and when he was apparently engaged on his own problems, he would, as the occasion called for it, interject a lightning objection or assent to a statement with which you fondly believed you could get away unnoticed. This ceaseless student of affairs, human and otherwise, took a hand in the home : electricity and carpentry interested him, and he once made a most engaging and electrically lit doll's house which still, I hope, delights the invalid children at Peamount. He grew his own vegetables, producing record tomato crops, and got perhaps more joy out of his children's mechanical toys than they did. I do not think he would ever have made a business man, and he had no regrets for not having gone to the Bar, all the examinations for which he passed in his college days—taking them, like so much else, in his great stride.

II

When John M. returned to Dublin in 1908, the National University was within hailing distance : the machinery of Commission, governing Body, etc. had been set up to bring it into being, draw up its laws and appoint its personnel. The new doctor had every reason to hope for an appointment to one of the Chairs of Philosophy. That year's remainder and the next he is busy translating his German dissertation. Covering some 300 pages, it appeared in book form in September 1909 under the title : *Old Criticism and New Pragmatism*. The dedication was to Professor Magennis ; the publishers were Gill and Longmans.

The Commission did not give John M. the opportunity, to which he (and his friends for him) had looked forward, of professing a branch of philosophy. He was extremely young for such a post—only twenty-eight. They appointed Father, now Monsignor Shine who was some years senior and who, as well as being in 1903 a winner of the University Studentship

in Philosophy, had studied in Germany and was a trained theologian to boot. If the " vir clarissimus et doctissimus " that John Marcus was, ever felt any sense of frustration at being unable to continue along a path upon which he had so brilliantly entered, no one ever knew nor would he himself wish it discussed here or elsewhere. He was, all through his Professorate of History to which the Commission—fortunately for us and for the College—almost immediately appointed him, bound by close ties of esteem and affection to Monsignor Shine for whose qualities of mind and heart he had an enduring regard and many of whose hobbies, quaint and otherwise, he shared. They were, I have no doubt, the philosopher's and the philosopher-historian's escape from strict thought.

Professor O'Sullivan had held the Chair of Modern History in U.C.D. for thirty-eight years when he died. In those thirty-eight there was a break of eight years, when he was seconded consequent on his appointment first as Secretary to the Department of Finance and then as Minister of Education under the Cosgrave Government. I do not remember that, during those eight years, he ever attended a meeting of the Governing Body, of which he was elected a member in 1923 and for two subsequent triennial periods. He would probably have regarded such attendance as " not etiquette " and more likely to embarrass than to help. Where there was not a question of principle involved his principle would be to refrain from embarrassing his College. There has been from time to time discussion among Professor O'Sullivan's acquaintances as to whether the Professor did or did not find himself disadvantaged by the Minister or the Dail Deputy. There are so many ways of looking at a question like that ; so much to be said for or against. I myself think that John M. would not have chosen public life or a political career, had it not been thrust upon him by the circumstances of 1922 and 1923. When the split came and he had made his decision, his services were wanted and he obeyed the summons. Later, when his party went out of power, he held his seat. He would not desert his leader or his party, though the quality of his work in College and the distance of his constituency from his home imposed a strain on body and mind which may well have been responsible for his breakdown in health. His intimates knew that he was suffering from hypertension since 1933 ; and in recent months he, for the first time in my memory, made allusion to the steady toll that electioneering campaigns in all weathers had taken of his heart. But it was a question of loyalty ; and where it was that, friend and foe knew how adamant John Marcus could be. The Austrian poet Grillparzer has a famous play : *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn* ; I am sure John M., who was a great reader of plays, knew it well. I often thought the title fitted him in every department of his life—a loyal servant of his Lord—in Faith, in friendship, in fatherland.

I would not in the foregoing paragraph give a false or pallid picture of this professor turned minister and deputy. I would not have readers of this

Quarterly, on the title pages of which his name so often stood, believe that John Marcus O'Sullivan was a martyr to duty. He would vigorously deny such a presentation. He did his duty as he saw it, but he took it in his stride as he took everything else in his full life and he enjoyed it in the doing. I believe that, if the ministerial years removed him for a space from books and college councils, they gave him back, in a curious way, to his friends. For office never altered this man, except for the better. His years as statesman broadened the base of his life and gave him again, at the end of the period, to his College a bigger and a wiser man than when he left it. The sense of power wisely exercised, and in the sphere of education for which his intellectual qualities so fitted him, was a legitimate source of joy to him. The contacts that he made at the League of Nations, four of the sessions of which he attended and at all four of which he was active either as Rapporteur or as Chairman of Committee, must have been stimulating to him, the philosopher-historian, observing history making and alas unmaking itself. The reports that he had to make of the Committees to the League are amongst the best things he wrote. They are succinct—and John M. could on occasion, on his own peculiar ground, be very circumlocutory—and they are an able extract of pith and marrow where there must have been much mere skin and gristle. To such matters as Health Organisations and Economics he brought a breadth of idealism and a depth of vision which lift them into a sphere that is international because it is human. But he remains always mindful of home interests and ever watchful lest the implications of Big Power policies in the economic sphere should militate against a young state balancing her economy somewhat precariously, in a post-war Europe, between agricultural traditions and industrial urgencies.

III

As I believe that John Marcus's ministerial activities were ultimately to the good of the professor, so I believe that his philosophical training made his teaching of history especially valuable for our students. I should be very much mistaken if, in examining with them the periods of history and tracing the evolution of ideas and their influence on events, he did not train them to think soundly, seeing always the implications of their thought and its consequences. In the various papers on historical or historico-philosophical subjects contributed by him to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* or to *Studies* or read on various occasions to societies, he invariably stresses the importance of making the postulates clear and so preparing the ground for a true understanding. His own eye, however, penetrates so deeply and sees so far that his thought as it were overflows its medium and makes his exposition involved. Except where he is deliberately simplifying for his audience, his insistence on all the implications of an idea makes his treatment wide-branching, hiding stem and bough.

This made the putting into final shape of the books he wrote on *Rousseau, The Enlightenment* and *Machiavelli* a very difficult task for him. It would be a fine work for advanced students to collate and edit the material; the " master " ideas (the word is his) are always clear, and they are fundamentally valuable as a contribution to the evolution of our modern " philosophies of life " and modern " ethics ".

John M. O'Sullivan lived a full, rich life in public and private: in youth; in his middle years; in age. He had his share of cares which, a good Christian, he took, as he took death itself, in his stride. His home was abundantly blessed; the first gap in its charmed circle was made by his own quick passing. Love, obedience, honour, troops of friends were his. He deserved them. For he was kindly; he harmed no man by word or deed; he had the heart of a child. Loyalty was his to such an excess that one could say it might pass the bounds of virtue and become its opposite. This intellectual giant had the faith of a child as well, and he nurtured it. The Psalms, the Missal, the New Testament were of his daily food. He edified us all. He was human always, loving life and its good things, eager to share them with others. He was flaitheamhail; there was nothing he liked better than entertaining. His house, big as it was, was on occasions not big enough for his friends. Not for nothing was he the lineal descendant of the O'Sullivan Mor: big in his ways; big in his charity; big in his Faith.

Solas na glóire ar a anam.

THE RISING OF 1848

BY PROFESSOR DENIS GWYNN, D.LITT.
University College, Cork

THE failure of the attempted insurrection of 1848 was so complete and, it seemed, so ignominious that its history has never been fully written. There is no major event in the history of Ireland during the past hundred years of which so little is generally known and on which misunderstanding and misrepresentation have been so widespread. It is usually dismissed as a deplorably incompetent adventure by a few earnest but incapable men—an adventure which ended in a miserable fiasco when a small body of police barricaded themselves successfully in a farmhouse near Ballingarry and were able to bring the whole rising to a disgraceful termination. But the facts were very different.

I

For a variety of converging reasons the facts have never been fully explained or even remotely understood. The evidence upon which judgment has been based consists partly of the personal narratives by a few of the principal actors in the rising, who give their isolated impressions of a campaign which was developing in a chaotic way, and partly of the little book published some twenty years later by Canon Fitzgerald, the parish priest of Ballingarry. He published, in his *Narrative of the Confederates of 1848*, a summary of the actual statements made by the Confederate leaders to another priest in county Tipperary while they were in hiding after the insurrection had collapsed. But, except for the detailed account contained in Gavan Duffy's *Four Years of Irish History*, which was written in 1880 and is now scarcely ever read, there has been practically no attempt to explain, or even to discover, what preparations had actually been made for an insurrection or what plans there were for carrying it out.

Direct evidence is, however, available, though some of the most important documents have hitherto been unknown. Gavan Duffy's closely documented history of the four years, from the death of Davis in the autumn of 1845 onwards, is so large a book and has been so long out of print that it has been neglected by the writers of popular history. Duffy spared no pains in drawing upon the immense amount of documentary evidence that was available to him from his long association with the *Nation* newspaper. He was able to supply a great deal also from his own capacious and accurate memory. And he also made considerable use of the immense collection of Smith O'Brien's papers, to which he refers constantly in his footnotes as the " Cahirmoyle Correspondence". But even Duffy appears to have overlooked two documents among the Smith O'Brien papers which are of extreme importance in regard to the actual

rising. One was the narrative, in Smith O'Brien's handwriting, which describes in considerable detail his own movements during the months preceding the rising. The other is a large notebook which contains, in O'Brien's handwriting, the text of a long speech which he had intended to deliver in court when sentence of death was to be passed upon him. The speech was never delivered because O'Brien considered that it might possibly compromise some of his associates who were then likewise awaiting trial; and he added a brief preface which explains that he would confide it to friends who should in time make its contents known. By the courtesy of the National Library, which now has custody of the Smith O'Brien papers, I have been allowed full use of them for the purpose of writing the biography of Smith O'Brien. They are so extensive, particularly concerning the whole Young Ireland period, that I have found it necessary to deal separately with the latter in a book on Young Ireland and the Rising of 1848, which is now in the printer's hands and will be published during the present year. In previous issues of *Studies* I have described some of the earlier phases of O'Brien's connection with the Young Ireland movement, and in the present article I hope to throw some light on the background to the rising.

The fact that emerges most clearly from the two unpublished documents to which I have referred is that the rising not only was expected to extend far more widely than is generally believed, but was prepared, although necessarily in great haste, with thoroughness. Before examining the general position in the preceding months—which was so complicated and so paradoxical that it is difficult to follow—it should be emphasised that a new executive council of the Confederation was elected which contained men who were well-known and active in each of the southern counties. They all proceeded to form and enrol Clubs for the purpose of an armed insurrection, and O'Brien himself travelled through almost all the counties concerned to find out whether the people were ready to rise. His journey began in Limerick where he had been member of Parliament for some fifteen years without interruption. He proceeded from Limerick in company with prominent Young Irelanders through counties Kerry and Cork, and addressed great gatherings of excited and enthusiastic men at all the towns they passed along the way. In Cork he had a tumultuous welcome and there reviewed the local clubs by moonlight. He returned to Dublin on learning of Gavan Duffy's arrest; and while Duffy was awaiting trial he continued his tour of inspection, going as far as Drogheda and then through Meath, Kildare and Wicklow. He then went to Wexford, where news came that the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, and Dillon and Meagher and he had to decide at once whether they should fight it out or meekly submit to arrest.

Meanwhile Tipperary had been entrusted to Michael Doheny and Father Kenyon; Kilkenny to Dr. Cane; Waterford to Meagher; and

Cork to Denny Lane and M. J. Barry. The response was so enthusiastic, and apparently so determined, that O'Brien definitely believed that not less than 100,000 men would answer the call for a national rising. They had all been instructed to obtain pikes or any arms they could collect, and there was a general confidence that arms of some kind were being manufactured. But O'Brien had no illusions about the value of pikes against armed troops. His definite plan was that Kilkenny or some other town in that part should be seized, as the headquarters for the insurrection, where provisions for a mobile force could be collected. He intended that small groups of armed and trained men should then operate throughout the south ; while the people should make it impossible for the troops to move effectively against them. The rising was at best a desperate venture which the leaders were compelled to undertake much sooner than they intended. The Government had forced the pace, so that they must go into action before the harvest had solved their greatest problem, which was lack of food supplies after three years of famine. But it was by no means the blind and irresponsible adventure of quixotic men which we have been generally led to believe.

II

The story cannot be understood without first explaining the extraordinary sequence of events that preceded it. The rising took place in July, and by that time there can be no question that it commanded extremely wide popular sympathy, though sufficient support failed to materialise. Yet in the previous February the fortunes and prospects of Young Ireland were at their lowest ebb. They had suffered an overwhelming defeat in the general elections of the previous August. O'Connell had died at Genoa in May 1847, and his death had come as a complete surprise to the country. Even Duffy and his friends on the *Nation*, who had so many reliable sources of information, had not expected it, though they had begun to realise that his recovery was unlikely. But O'Connell's death, far from home and after a tragic illness, caused consternation among the people. They were suddenly reminded of his immense and self-sacrificing services during his long life of agitation for their cause. It was easily believed that the opposition and the dangerous policy of the Young Irelanders had broken his heart. When his body was brought home for a public funeral, a wave of hysterical emotion swept the country. His son had naturally foreseen that this reaction in his favour would tell heavily against the Young Irelanders, and the funeral was in fact delayed until the eve of the general election in August. They were unable even to put a single candidate in the field at the elections, while John O'Connell defiantly refused to take any pledge against seeking or taking patronage from the Whig Government. The Old Irelanders triumphed ; and in a general state of demoralisation place-hunters were returned everywhere.

In the complete defeat of their hopes, the return of Smith O'Brien as member for county Limerick was their one outstanding success. He had been identified with Young Ireland ever since he became intimately associated with Thomas Davis, while he was acting as deputy leader of the Repeal Association during the State trials in 1844 and O'Connell's subsequent imprisonment. He had become the chief adviser, though not the official leader, of the younger men. He had headed them in leaving Conciliation Hall in protest against John O'Connell's preposterous Moral Force resolutions, when Meagher was prevented from concluding his famous speech in defence of the sword. He alone among them represented a constituency and had long experience of public life. But he had grown so indignant at the neglect of Irish needs during the famine years that he resolved to leave the House of Commons and concentrate his efforts in Ireland, and he had refused to stand again for Limerick at the general election. To escape the importunities of his friends he even went to stay with his married sister in the north of England while the elections were in progress. It was not until after his return that he found he had been nominated and re-elected for county Limerick in spite of the vigorous opposition of the Old Irelanders. The Young Irelanders, even including John Mitchel, insisted as much as did his friends in the county that he must accept his re-election. And so, for the following year until the insurrection, he remained M.P. for Limerick, with a more influential hold upon the affections and confidence of his constituency than any other Irishman could claim. That fact must be borne in mind in considering his status as the insurrectionary leader during the rapid developments that followed within the succeeding months.

O'Brien continued as an active member of the Irish Confederation, which the young men had formed as their own counterpart to Conciliation Hall. He was consulted almost from day to day, as his correspondence shows, by all the leading members of the Confederation. But its prospects were soon impaired by a cleavage within its own ranks, when John Mitchel lost patience with all constitutional agitation and began to urge openly that there was no alternative to an appeal to force. Mitchel's provocative actions gave ample pretexts to the Government for increasing the military garrison in the country and for introducing more drastic Coercion Acts. By the end of the year Mitchel was writing such openly seditious articles and manifestoes that the Confederation had to consider whether it also was involved in the consequences which he was recklessly provoking. He was a member of the Confederation Council, and if his course continued unchecked they would all be held responsible for it. A full debate was held for three days, after which every one of the important leaders sided against him, though he had gained a large following among the rank and file in Dublin. At the end of January Mitchel formally resigned from the Confederation, taking with him his brother-in-law John

Martin and the young journalist Devin Reilly, who had become his most devoted disciple.

The other members of the Confederation all realised that the position of the Government had been greatly strengthened by the new powers they had acquired to suppress agitation; but they continued to press their own programme of intensive activity in Ireland and of opposing every candidate who would not pledge himself to abstain from seeking or taking patronage from the Government. A by-election in Waterford almost immediately after Mitchel's secession gave an opportunity to test their strength. Meagher was the most vivid and attractive figure among the younger men, and he had felt strongly drawn towards Mitchel's aggressive policy but finally decided that it could only lead to disaster. He had sided with the others against Mitchel, and he stood as their candidate for his own city in February 1848. It was their first chance to contest a seat with a strong local candidate, and it failed abjectly. Meagher was returned at the bottom of the poll against two other candidates.

III

It was just then, when prospects for Young Ireland looked most discouraging and most hopeless, that news came suddenly from Paris that Louis Philippe had been obliged to abdicate and that a provisional government had been set up at the Hotel de Ville. A republic was proclaimed soon after, with the poet Lamartine as President. The analogy with Ireland was most striking. The Government in France had refused all concessions to popular agitation and had suddenly been overthrown by the first organised demonstration of revolt. There had been no blood shed, and the new Republic proclaimed its complete respect for religious liberty and private property and public order. The news from France was followed quickly by reports of similar successful uprisings in Germany and Austria, while in Italy the new Pope Pius IX had been acclaimed as the champion of liberal institutions in the Papal States. There was a sudden wave of revolutions everywhere, and the evidence showed at first that there was nothing to be feared from their success and that popular government was to reign supreme and unchallenged. In Ireland excitement grew at once. Mitchel had already published the first few issues of his new weekly, the *United Irishman*, and the news from France seemed to confirm all that he claimed as possible for a popular insurrection. In the *Nation* Duffy greeted the example of France with equal enthusiasm; and in London Smith O'Brien was stirred as deeply as the others and hurried to Ireland to appeal for an immediate reunion of the divided forces of the Repeal movement. He had for years held a position of unrivalled personal ascendancy among the younger men, and they always waited for his presence before making any serious decision. They met as soon as

Meagher's by-election in Waterford was over, and then accepted O'Brien's proposal that there should be an immediate appeal for a reunion with the Old Irelanders and that all should join in organising a National Guard, open to all Irish citizens without regard for political differences.

At a public meeting in Dublin O'Brien proposed a resolution of congratulation to the people of France, and he offered to accompany in person a delegation to Paris which should present an address to Lamartine. He then plainly, but in guarded language, proposed at the meeting that steps should be taken to enrol a National Guard and to arrange for the election of a Council of Three Hundred, which would obviously be the nucleus of an Irish Parliament. Meagher spoke at the same meeting though less guardedly. And two days later both he and O'Brien received writs ordering them to appear in court on charges of making seditious speeches. At the same time a writ was issued against Mitchel, whose writings had been deliberately reckless and provocative. They were all allowed bail; and then O'Brien and Meagher, together with a silk-weaver named Holywood, set out for Paris to present their address to the French Republic. The whole situation had changed within a few days, and a wave of enthusiasm acclaimed the Young Ireland leaders who a few months before had been held responsible for O'Connell's death and for the hostility of the British Government. Rapid steps were taken to heal the division between Young and Old Ireland, and soon afterwards the new Irish League was constituted as an amalgamation of both bodies, while John O'Connell retired into private life.

The effect of the French revolution upon Irish opinion is well known; but the O'Brien papers reveal a more subtle and a very important influence. His visit to Paris was by no means an unqualified success, though he received most cordial letters both from Lamartine and from Ledru-Rollin on his arrival, when the interviews with both had to be arranged. But the British Ambassador intervened and warned Lamartine that diplomatic relations with the new Republic might have to be withdrawn if encouragement were given to insurrectionary agitations in the British Empire. Lamartine's formal reception was therefore less cordial than his private letter had led them to expect. He even issued a report of the interview which, according to O'Brien, was by no means accurate, as it expressed a refusal to lend military aid to Ireland—which in fact had never been mentioned. There had been no question of asking for military assistance, but O'Brien had definitely gone to Paris with the intention of finding out whether Irish officers in the French army could be lent to help in training the proposed National Guard. In these respects the mission was disappointing, but in another way it encouraged them far beyond their hopes. They were more impressed than they had ever expected by the evidence which they saw everywhere of universal popular rejoicing and contentment under the revolutionary regime. The Paris streets were still

full of jubilant and happy crowds celebrating their victory, and no sign of disorder or of interference with religion or property had yet appeared.

IV

What impressed O'Brien most was the open fraternising of the police and troops with the people and the participation of priests in the public rejoicings. He began then to believe that in Ireland a successful insurrection would have precisely similar results; and this assumption, which there was no convincing reason to dispute, was in fact his chief miscalculation when the rising took place. For months the *Nation* and the younger men had been insisting that the British Government could not hope to keep Ireland in subjection with a police which was almost entirely Irish and with regiments which were either Irish or largely composed of Irishmen. It was one of the factors upon which they counted even before the revolution came in France. And now O'Brien's personal observation convinced him that the assumption was fully justified. It was a matter on which the views of Mitchel and the other Confederates had been strongly divided. When they returned to Ireland and had to face their trials for sedition, one of the charges against O'Brien was that, in a speech in Youghal some months previously, he had openly urged the people to fraternise with the police and the troops. The *United Irishman*, on the other hand, had been inciting openly to violent action against the troops; and Devin Reilly in one article had even urged the people to throw vitriol upon them in case of fighting in the streets.

No less important than the active sympathy of police and troops in France was the collaboration of the clergy in the popular movement. O'Brien's experiences of this in Paris affected him deeply, and it goes far to explain his disappointment at the attitude of the priests when the rising occurred. It was a subject which he had watched most attentively for years; because he was always aware of his own inability, as a Protestant landowner, to appreciate how far the influence of the clergy affected political agitation at any time. He had repeatedly warned Duffy and others that the clergy in Limerick were strongly sympathetic to O'Connell, even though they showed very friendly feelings towards himself. And since O'Connell's death he had been more than ever aware of their suspicions towards Young Ireland. He had been in close touch with Thomas Davis all through the controversy over the Colleges Bill, and he had done much to restrain the impatience and anger of Davis when he found that his demand for undenominational colleges was distrusted and opposed. O'Brien's attitude had always been that, whether he agreed or not with the views of the Catholic clergy, they must be allowed to prevail if it was a matter which plainly concerned religion, because the Catholic people would always follow their lead. He was fully conscious of the general suspicions of Young Ireland which had been spread ever since the dispute

over the Colleges Bill; and as a cautious and observant man he regarded the clergy as a strongly conservative force. Very few of the priests had sided openly with Young Ireland, while many—including even so vigorous a nationalist as Archbishop MacHale—had opposed them. The one priest who had thrown himself wholeheartedly into the Confederate movement was Father Kenyon in Tipperary; for even Father Meehan had been much less active after the secession in 1846. But Father Kenyon behaved with such imprudence, in ridiculing and insulting O'Connell's funeral and afterwards in nominating Richard O'Gorman as a candidate for Limerick city against O'Gorman's own wishes, that O'Brien had no confidence in his judgment. Moreover he was Mitchel's closest friend; and O'Brien had found that Mitchel's writings and his generally provocative attitude were killing all hope of broadening the basis of a national party.

But the events in France had unquestionably altered the attitude of the Irish clergy. They had joined in the general jubilation, partly because the revolution in Paris had led to no disorder or attacks upon religion, and partly because the new Pope had himself given direct encouragement to liberal institutions in Rome. O'Brien and Meagher were therefore easily persuaded that what they had seen in France would also happen in Ireland. On their return they were received with immense demonstrations of rejoicing while their trials for sedition were still pending. Resolutions of support and encouragement came from every part of the country, and among them was a most important letter from Father Kenyon. In his own parish of Templederry he had presided at a public meeting attended by representatives of nineteen parishes, including the towns of Nenagh and Thurles, and they had passed a resolution which Father Kenyon himself forwarded to O'Brien. It pledged them all, in the most solemn and sacred manner, to give their utmost support to any and every action that might be recommended by the three "prosecuted patriots," O'Brien, Mitchel and Meagher.

A few weeks later, on the eve of O'Brien's trial, a great demonstration in Limerick was organised in his honour. Mitchel's policy was now so reckless that O'Brien declared himself unable to appear on the same platform with him, and he had got Mitchel to agree that he would avoid the places which O'Brien was visiting. But the local organisers did not know of this agreement, and they invited Mitchel as well as Meagher and O'Brien to address them in Limerick. Only when he arrived in the city did O'Brien learn that Mitchel had accepted the invitation and that hostile crowds had assembled to prevent Mitchel from speaking. The sequel was extremely important. Mitchel had quite recently published a bitter attack upon O'Connell's memory, and the O'Connellites in Limerick were determined to show their disapproval. They received him with a wild uproar, and soon began to smash first the windows, and then the door, of the hall where the meeting was being held. They burned an effigy of Mitchel outside and

even attempted to burn down the building. O'Brien was extremely indignant at what he regarded as Mitchel's breach of faith, though it was in fact a misunderstanding; but he decided to try and pacify the crowd. He forced his way through the door where the mob were trying to storm in; and although he managed to get outside, he was struck in the face with a stone and, more seriously, in the side with a blow which crippled him.

What should have been a great demonstration of confidence was thus turned into a disgraceful riot; and next day O'Brien had to appear in court in Dublin with his head bandaged and scarcely able to stand. For weeks afterwards he was unable to attend public meetings or even to stand upright without extreme pain. His personal injuries were a grave handicap to the movement at a time when urgent decisions were necessary. But the most discouraging effect was the evidence of division in the Confederate ranks. Mitchel with Martin and Reilly at once withdrew from the Confederation, and the trials soon followed. But it is essential to appreciate how extremely unpopular Mitchel had become outside Dublin. The fact has been generally ignored, and even Arthur Griffith has given a strangely distorted picture by ignoring it. In his well-known Preface to Michael Doheny's *Felon's Track* Griffith writes: "1848 was a failure—in one sense—because there was no second Mitchel in Ireland when the first Mitchel was hurried off on a British gunboat." But whatever else may be claimed for Mitchel, it cannot be contended, in view of what took place in Limerick in May, that he could conceivably have headed a successful rising in Munster in July.

V

O'Brien had felt so outraged by this sudden maltreatment in Limerick where he had been so popular for many years, that he desired to retire at once from public life. But the formation of the National Guard was now beginning, and he agreed at once that he must retain his thankless position of leadership. His trial came on early in May, and he was defended by Isaac Butt. The jury had been most carefully packed, and there seemed to be scarcely a hope of acquittal. But one juror refused to convict and O'Brien was acquitted, while Meagher also was acquitted by a similar miracle on the following day. Scarcely less encouraging was the dramatic conversion of Isaac Butt to the popular side. He had been for years the ablest figure among the Unionists, but during the famine his views had gradually changed. And in his defence of both O'Brien and Meagher he identified himself with their opposition to the Union in speeches which caused the widest sensation. But the Government were determined not to be defeated again when Mitchel's trial followed shortly after. They had rushed through the Treason Felony Act, which made any sort of

incitement to insurrection a criminal offence; and they packed his jury so meticulously that he had no chance of escape.

Under the new Act Mitchel was certain to be deported, and the question of attempting his rescue arose urgently. For the first time the Confederates had to take stock of their resources for an armed conflict, which they had hoped to avoid until the harvest had been gathered and until the National Guard had time to enrol and arm. The Viceroy had already issued a proclamation declaring both the National Guard and the proposed Council of Three Hundred to be illegal bodies. But the Confederates, before O'Brien was yet tried, had retorted with a counter-proclamation which declared that the Government had acted illegally and had exceeded its powers. The proclamation was issued in a form almost identical with those of Dublin Castle, and it was signed by O'Brien personally. The Government had ignored O'Brien's defiance in the belief that his trial would deliver him into their hands; and they dared not prosecute him again. But Mitchel was being prosecuted under the new Act and the case against him was far stronger, because he had boasted openly for months that he was committing treason. To rescue him must mean a collision with the troops before any adequate preparations had been made; and there were 10,000 troops already in Dublin, with ample reinforcements near at hand. Meagher and some of the others had vowed that they would rescue him; and a sub-committee, including him and D'Arcy McGee, was set up to explore every possibility. But the prospect was so hopeless that they had to order that no attempt should be made; and Meagher himself at a public meeting after Mitchel's conviction had to explain his own change of mind and accept his share of responsibility, while he pledged himself to carry on Mitchel's work till triumph was won.

VI

Mitchel was carried off from Dublin under heavy escorts at the end of May, and events then followed fast. The Confederation at once elected a new executive council to prepare for urgent actions. On the new council Meagher and Father Kenyon together headed the poll, followed closely by O'Brien and Duffy and Dillon and O'Gorman and the other best known leaders. Father Kenyon even became one of the inner group who, with Duffy, took steps at once to obtain aid secretly from France and from America. Duffy realised, as fully as did O'Brien, that the attitude of the clergy would be all-important. It was hoped that when Father Kenyon, with his strong local following in Tipperary, gave the lead, his example would be followed by many other priests who shared the sense of outrage that Mitchel's packed trial had produced.

But events in Europe again played a decisive and unexpected part. News from Paris, which had hitherto been so encouraging and so hopeful, suddenly assumed a totally different character. There were communist

outbreaks and all the symptoms of subversive revolution which had been dreaded in the past. The climax came in mid-June when the Communists erected some three hundred barricades and fighting broke out in many places. Then came the shocking news that the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, had been shot dead at the barricades while he was undertaking an attempt to establish a truce. And almost at the same time while this news from France sent a shudder of dismay through the whole Catholic world, there came news from Rome that the Pope was being defied by his own new Ministers, who were openly repudiating the Temporal Power. The effect upon the Irish clergy can scarcely be exaggerated. It revived all the old distrust of insurrectionary movements and made them realise how slight was the authority of the young men—of whose abilities so little was known—who were now appealing to the country to arm in open defiance of the Government with all its military power.

O'Brien had been incapacitated as a result of the riot in Limerick. He was suffering so much from his injuries, in spite of being a man of great physical energy and unflinching public spirit, that his doctors insisted upon his retiring for several weeks to county Limerick to obtain a complete rest. But as soon as he could even walk he set out on his tour through Kerry and Cork, and then went at once to Dublin, after he learned of Duffy's arrest. He had completed a tour extending from Drogheda to Killarney and from Kerry to Wexford, while the others were all working strenuously to organise the armed Clubs in their respective districts. Then the warrant for O'Brien's arrest was issued, and it was decided to start the insurrection at once. His own inspections, and the great popular response he had received everywhere, had convinced him that the people were at last ready to rise. The one serious uncertainty, apart from the grim shortage of food and of arms, was whether the priests would sympathise or discourage it. Father Kenyon was still the chief hope ; and the district that he could mobilise was the tract of country between Doheny's territory in eastern Tipperary and O'Brien's own country in Limerick and Clare, where Richard O'Gorman was vigorously organising. But the sequel must await another article.

DENIS GWYNN

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA

1547—1616

BY THOMAS J. O'DONNELL, S.J.

IT is a curious anomaly that, despite the universal success of the novel *Don Quixote* from its first appearance, Spaniards showed but little interest in the personality of the genius who created it. The two parts into which the work is divided appeared respectively in the years 1505 and 1515, but the first life of Cervantes was not written until 1737. Even then this belated tribute to the memory of one of Spain's greatest writers was not due to the initiative of any one of his own countrymen but to an Englishman, Lord Carteret. During his period as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the early decades of the eighteenth century, Carteret had displayed his enthusiasm for Cervantes by having some of the *Novelas Exemplares* translated and published at Bristol in 1728. On this occasion *El Casamiento Engañoso* and *El Coloquio de los Perros* made their first appearance in an English version.

I

On his return to England Lord Carteret financed the preparation and publication of the first monumental edition of *Don Quixote*. At the same time, through the good offices of the wife of the Spanish Ambassador, he was able to employ the greatest Spanish literary personality of the day, Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, to compile the first biography. This biography was originally published as a separate work at Briga-Real in 1737 and is to-day a rare volume, but it was also included in the London monumental edition of *Don Quixote* and in future Spanish editions.

In the dedication to Lord Carteret, Mayans declares that this is the first biography in Spanish of the author of *Don Quixote*. Later research has shown that it is very imperfect, but Mayans himself realised its inadequacy. He points out in his introduction that he has tried to oblige his English patron by collecting " algunos apuntamientos " for future biographers, but that he had found very little matter recorded on his subject. Since then, however, much has been discovered towards a fuller and more accurate biography.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, the fourth centenary of whose birth occurred last October, was born in Alcalá de Henares where the parish register shows that he was baptized on 9 October 1547. The Cervantes family, which in the lifetime of his grandfather, a prominent lawyer, had been of some importance, had by this time come down in the world. Rodrigo de Cervantes, Miguel's father, was a medical practitioner who found it difficult to make a living, and his habit of frequently changing

residences in search of patients was probably responsible for the fact that his fourth child, Miguel, was born in Alcalá instead of in his native Córdova.

Of Miguel's education little is known. His own glowing tribute to the Jesuit fathers of the college at Seville possibly indicates that he spent some time there at school. That he studied under the Madrid humanist Juan Hoyos, who later founded a famous academy, is certain from the latter's reference to Cervantes as his " dear and beloved pupil ". It is doubtful, however, whether he ever received much formal schooling, but his taste for reading was well developed, his knowledge of the classics—mainly through translations—was wide, and he was familiar with the best Spanish and Italian writers. His real education, indeed, was acquired in the school of life, and travel and experience were his best teachers. To this may be ascribed his greatest quality, his humanity, as well as his freedom from all literary pedantry.

Poverty, the lot of many a genius, made it necessary for Cervantes to strike out for himself and earn his own living. In 1569 we find him on his way to Italy, where he found employment as *camerero* in the household of Cardinal Aquaviva, former Papal Legate to the king of Spain. Tiring soon of this humdrum existence, he left and adopted the life of a soldier. His subsequent experiences in the various cities of Renaissance Italy profoundly influenced him, broadening his intellectual horizons and developing in him a universality that distinguishes him from all his Spanish contemporaries. In *El Licenciado Vidriero*, one of his *Novelas Exemplares*, he draws on these Italian experiences with evident enjoyment and depicts Italian life, especially the Italian inns, with a sure pen.

Miguel's military life was to last from 1570 to 1575, the period when the struggle against the Turks in the Mediterranean was at its height. His first real experience of war appears to have been the expedition under the Papal General Colonna which, in 1570, attempted without success to relieve the threatened island of Cyprus. The capture of this island by the Turks aroused Christendom and led eventually, in May 1571, to a treaty signed by the Pope, Spain and Venice uniting the navies of these three powers under one command in order to put an end to the Turkish domination of the Mediterranean. As a member of the battalion of Don Diego de Urbina, Cervantes entered the squadron commanded by de Moncada one of the chief Spanish lieutenants of the Commander-in-Chief, Don Juan of Austria.

According to Cervantes himself, one of the greatest privileges of his life was to have taken part in the most important battle of the age, the battle of Lepanto (1571). It was only his second year of military life, but he appears to have conducted himself with conspicuous gallantry. Confined to bed with fever when his galley was about to engage the Turk, he insisted on appearing at his post and fought with such valour that he attracted the

notice of Don Juan himself. Besides receiving a gunshot wound in the chest, his left hand was so permanently disabled that it won for him that soubriquet in which he gloried " the cripple of Lepanto". Don Juan of Austria showed his appreciation of this heroism by making him a " soldado ventagado," which meant that his pay was raised above that of his rank, and he was listed for promotion to a commission. To secure such promotion, however, entailed a visit to Madrid, because Philip II reserved such matters to himself. Consequently, armed with letters of recommendation and in company with his brother Rodrigo (who had been his companion in arms), he set sail in September 1575 in the galley " Sol," but it was many years before he finally reached the shores of Spain.

When six days at sea the galley was captured by the renegade pirate Mami, and with all the other captives the Cervantes brothers were sold into slavery at Algiers. Those letters of recommendation which Miguel bore on his person were to prove his undoing. In the eyes of the Moors they indicated that he was a person of importance, and the ransom they demanded as a consequence was quite beyond the slender resources of his family. His characteristic cheerfulness when all seemed dark, and which throughout a life of hardship and disappointment was to enable him to preserve his equanimity, also stood him in good stead during his years of captivity. His refusal to abandon hope when all his attempts to escape failed, communicated itself to the other christian captives and, as many later testified, lightened their period of trial.

The members of the Cervantes family in Spain were making every effort to scrape together the necessary ransom and were eventually assisted by a handsome contribution from Father Juan Gil, of the Order of Trinitarians for the Redemption of Captives. Consequently, towards the end of 1580, after five long years of captivity, Cervantes was given his freedom and returned to Spain. In common with his other experiences these years among the Moors were not to be wasted, since they provided him with authentic matter for some of his best literary works. He drew on them for the episode of the Captive in *Don Quixote*, for his comedy *Los Baños de Argel*, and for *Española Inglesa*, one of his *Novelas Exemplares*.

II

Cervantes was now thirty-three years of age when he returned to Spain. If hitherto his life had been one of hardship, it had also been one of romance. From this time forward it was to be one of hardship alone. His family had impoverished themselves to provide his ransom and they now looked to him for assistance. In a long petition to the government setting forth his many achievements and sufferings and which was signed by many witnesses he sought some preferment, but without avail. He was still a soldier, however, and for the next two years he took part in various expeditions. He is said at this time to have experienced that passing

attraction towards an unnamed Portuguese lady by whom he had his only child, Isabel, on whom he appears to have lavished all his affections. Two years after his release from captivity he abandoned the life of a soldier to devote himself to literature.

It is not clear to what extent his ambitions hitherto had been towards literature. As a youth he had produced the usual poetic effusions of his age, and some of these had been found worthy of inclusion in a commemorative work by Hoyos in 1568 on the occasion of the death of the queen, Isabel of Valois. His great ambition now was to write poetry, which he did with indifferent success ; but his first notable achievement in literature was a pastoral romance, *Galatea*.

Although the *Galatea* has been overshadowed by his great masterpiece, *Don Quixote*, this romance, for its grace and beauty of composition, would have given him a high and lasting place in the literary history of Spain. It did not, however, give any indication of that wonderful originality of invention which characterised his greater work, for it is merely a happy imitation of an earlier model, the *Diana* of Montemayor and Gil Polo. The descriptive writing and the declamation are in the best style of the Spanish Golden Age, and it abounds to such an extent in lyrics that many have considered the work as written for the sake of the poetry. In the library scene of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes provides his own short criticism of the *Galatea*. He remarks that as a work it is unfinished : " he aims at something but concludes nothing, therefore we must await the second part which he has promised us". Be that as it may, a second part never appeared ; but what we have of this pastoral was indicative of the literary power of Cervantes.

The two main characters of the *Galatea* are said to have been based on himself and on the lady with whom he had fallen in love and whom he married in 1584, Doña Catalina de Palacios Salazar y Vozmediano. This lady brought him a small dowry on which both were able to live for a few years. It was well for Cervantes that he had some means of subsistence at this time, for he was striving to realise his ambitions as a dramatist. He tells us that during the following years he wrote more than twenty dramas. Most of these, however, have been lost, and the majority were never acted. Of those that have come down to us only one, *Numancia Vengada*, appears to be of really high merit. It is a tragedy in four acts based on the famous siege ; in spite of its many glaring defects of construction and its absurd anachronisms, it is a powerful story of heroism and devotion told with a power worthy of his genius. But the drama was not his sphere ; nor could he hope for material success in rivalry with that phenomenon and contemporary Lope de Vega. His failure to make a living forced him to abandon literature for a time and look round for some other means of livelihood.

In 1588 we find him in Seville where, in his own words, he " had

found something better to do than writing comedies". What this was he does not say, but we know that the previous year he had received a small government appointment which involved, among other things, travelling about the south of Spain collecting provisions for the " Invincible Armada". For some years he appears to have been engaged in similar work, and although he suffered much at the hands of an already overtaxed peasantry, his journeys gave him that intimate knowledge of the people and the land which was later to add distinction to his novels. Cervantes was apparently no business man, for his accounts frequently became entangled beyond explanation ; he entrusted sums of money to unworthy assistants and he was almost continually in debt. Consequently, unable to satisfy the government and his creditors, he suffered many periods in gaol. It was during one of these sojourns in prison that he appears to have conceived the idea for his masterpiece *Don Quixote*—at least he hints to us that the work was " engendered in prison". He had at last found the medium in which he is still without a serious rival.

The only notices we have of Cervantes from this until 1603 indicate that he was still living at Seville. A poetry prize offered in 1595 by the Dominicans of Saragossa for a poem in honour of St. Hyacinth was won by " Miguel Cervantes Saavedra of Seville". In 1596 two poems appear from his pen in praise of the gentlemen of Seville who took up arms to relieve Cadiz when invested by the English, who under Essex had entered the harbour and destroyed the second Armada. On the occasion of the death of Philip II at Seville in 1598 he is said to have composed obituary verses.

III

In 1603 Cervantes had already followed the royal court from Seville to Valladolid, where during the next two years he worked at *Don Quixote* and prepared it for the press. He was living now in the most abject poverty, even though his growing literary fame brought him into daily contact with the nobility and the professors of the university. In 1605 *Don Quixote* appeared, and the marvellous reception it got on all sides must have astounded even its author. This succeeded in relieving to some extent his financial embarrassment; it also brought him two patrons in the Conde de Lemos—to whom he dedicated later works—and the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.

With the profits derived from *Don Quixote* and the allowances granted him by his two patrons Cervantes appears to have been content ; for eight years pass before any other work appears in print from his pen. Then, in 1613, he published his *Novelas Exemplares* on which he appears to have been working for many years. These are short romances and anecdotes after the manner of Boccacio, but their morality is above reproach. They were received with the enthusiasm they deserved and now rank among the great classics of Spain. In 1614 his best poetical effort appeared,

El Viaje del Parnaso, a satire on the state of Spanish letters at the time; but like all his satire it is gentle, playful and inoffensive.

During the same year 1614 Cervantes was preparing the sequel to his *Don Quixote*, when an event occurred which caused him to speed up its publication. At Tarragona another writer, calling himself Alonzo Fernandez de Avellaneda, issued a sequel of his own—an act of piracy common enough in Renaissance times. This in itself need not have offended Cervantes, but what gave him just cause for resentment was Avellaneda's insulting preface. In 1615 the real sequel or, as we know it now, the second part of *Don Quixote* appeared and entirely overshadowed his rival's effort. This second part shows better than anything how the genius of its author had matured and how his character had mellowed. Adversity had brought out the sweetness of that character, and now his humour is richer, his philosophy riper, his touch surer. Parody and satire are also less conspicuous, while the comedy is delightful and the style masterly.

In 1615 there also appeared from his pen a volume of new plays and interludes that had never been acted; and this is the last work that Cervantes was able to see through the press. He had been in bad health for some years, and it was on his deathbed that he dedicated to the Conde de Lemos his last work, *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismundo*. He died on the following day, 23 April 1616, and this work—which he humorously describes as " either the worst or the best of all the amusing books ever written in our tongue "—was published posthumously. It failed to receive the applause its author had expected, for its theme did not appeal to the public.

The universal fame of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra undoubtedly rests on the merits of his great masterpiece, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. By the majority of critics it is considered to be the best novel ever written. How account for so great a claim? It is not due to the construction of the plot, which is as loose as that of other Renaissance forms of fiction. The nature of the subject, of course, did not require a well-knit plot, since variety of character, incident and style was what was sought. Other novels, however, have shown greater perfection of technique, more finely drawn characters, and a more polished style. What gives *Don Quixote* its appeal to all peoples and to all ages is that it taps the well-springs of human nature which is everywhere the same. Its appeal is to both cultured and uncultured, to all mankind rather than to any narrow group. Yet it is the most national of novels, racy of the very soil of Spain, and is the product of the age in which it was written. Cervantes knew humanity and, in spite of its failings, he loved it; and the world in its turn has loved Cervantes and the creatures of his fancy.

IV

With the writing of *Don Quixote* Cervantes reached the summit of his genius. He showed unmistakably that the novel was his true medium. Had he forerunners, models, in this field? To many a reader of the time

Don Quixote was merely a delightful parody of the prevalent knight-errant literature, the popular reading of the period. Cervantes himself was a voracious reader of these romances of chivalry, as were other great personalities of his age, the young Ignatius of Loyola and the girl Teresa of Avila. These romances marked a revival, in sixteenth-century Spain, of a class of literature that had originated, flourished and declined elsewhere at a much earlier period. It had evolved by a process of degeneration from that wealth of epic poetry that had flourished in northern Gaul in the period after the Frankish invasion. Even in eleventh-century France the *Chanson de Geste* which glorified national and local heroes still inspired the soldier on the battlefield. During the twelfth-century these epic songs of the *trouvère* had descended from the baronial halls to the market-place for the entertainment of the populace. From that time onwards their degeneration was rapid. With the appearance of printing they changed from matter for song and recitation to matter for private reading—and then from poetry to prose.

But this process of degeneration did not merely affect the form of the epic tales; more important still it affected their substance. Whereas the ancient epics were poetic chronicles based on historic deeds of valour, in their later form this was no longer true. They were gradually corrupted by the inclusion of purely imaginary happenings, until little of historic event remained; airy and fantastically impossible deeds of derring-do were the romantic substitute. For this deterioration in the epic tales the responsibility rests mainly on the *jongleurs* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These travelling entertainers were required to satisfy many diverse local tastes, and so they fused local with national legends and had little scruple in adding to both from their fertile imaginations.

When these tales took on a prose-form, there evolved eventually a type of romance of chivalry characterised by a total lack of verisimilitude, a false idealism out of touch with all reality. The knight hero of romance set out to meet adventures that by his valour and prowess he might prove himself worthy of the maiden of his choice. Such themes demanded adventures and achievements above the ordinary and thus paved the way for all those "enchantments, quarrels, battles, challenges, wounds, wooings, loves, agonies and all sorts of impossible nonsense" that filled the brain of poor Don Quixote.

Not all, however, of these romances were mere trash. Two in particular were excluded by Cervantes himself from his wholesale condemnation of these books of knight-errantry. They were the *Amadis de Gaula* and the *Palmerin of England* which were written respectively during the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth. Both of these were of a much higher order than the average romance, and the former ranks to-day among the classics of Spain. But if the *Amadis de Gaula* is a masterpiece of its kind, the same could not be said of those romances

which were written in imitation of it—and, indeed, it fathered an "innumerable progeny". Thus it was that, in spite of his appreciation of the *nadis de Gaula*, it was this very book that Cervantes set out to parody when he wrote *Don Quixote*. Therefore, at least a word or two on this romance is necessary in order to appreciate the basis of the comedy in Cervantes' masterpiece.

What exact country is represented by the name Gaula is not always clear from the text; at times it seems to refer to Wales and at other times to France. Amadis is the child of a secret marriage between Perrion king of Gaula, and the Princess Elisena. To avoid embarrassing explanations and the censure of the world, his parents launch him forth in a small ark on a stream and he is carried out to sea. Rescued and then reared by a Scottish knight, who names him "Child of the Sea," he is eventually taken to the royal court of Scotland where he is appointed to serve Oriana the young daughter of Lisuarte, king of Britain. Amadis immediately falls in love with Oriana, but does not dare to declare himself until he has proved worthy of her. Oriana in her turn finds herself in love with Amadis, but fails to reveal the fact. To prove himself worthy of her love Amadis determines to set forth in search of adventures, and to this end he gets himself dubbed knight by, of all people, his own father Perrion although neither is aware of their relationship. Perrion himself has meanwhile publicly married the mother of Amadis, and has had another son by her called Galaor. The remainder of the nine books of this romance is concerned with the adventures and achievements of these brother knights, Amadis and Galaor, who typify respectively the constant and the fickle lover. In various encounters with giants, enchanted islands, and dragons, and lastly even with his own father, Amadis proved himself the best knight in the world. Then, having rescued from many dangers Oriana—to whom for some time he has been secretly married—and being recognised by his father by means of a ring, the lovers are at last publicly united in wedlock.

V

That in very brief is the plot of the romance which Cervantes set out to parody, and this parody covers not only characters and situations, but at times even the very style of conversation and declamation. The hero of this parody is a landed gentleman, tall and gaunt, whose time is spent reading these books of knight-errantry. So great is his craving for these stories that he first neglects his property in order to have time to read them, and then he begins to sell it off in order to provide the means to buy more and more books. He lengthens his period of reading by foregoing meals, and when that does not satisfy his craving he foregoes his sleep. Thus by literally spending all his time surrounded by his heroes of romance and by enchantments and combats without sleep and without food, his poor brain becomes unhinged and he conceives the idea that he has a

mission to restore the perfection of the knightly ideal in the world. To this end he determines to adopt the life of a knight-errant and go forth in imitation of his literary heroes to adventure and to secure the reign of justice by righting all wrong. He dons an old suit of armour belonging to his great grandfather which he cleans for the purpose, supplying missing parts by painted cardboard. He then saddles his poor emaciated nag, which he names Rocinante; and calling himself Don Quixote de la Mancha, since Amadis called himself Amadis de Gaula, he sets out to prove himself the greatest knight in the world. To his poor brain that world assumes the character of all he has read, and the first inn he comes across is to him a castle turreted and strong, of which the inn-keeper is the lord. He is received at first with amazement by the latter—but afterwards, when his madness becomes clear to all, with humour. The inn-keeper acts up to his part and agrees to dub Don Quixote knight when he has fulfilled the vigil of his armour in the farmyard. Poor Don Quixote's first effort to prove himself the greatest knight in the world ends disastrously, for he is beaten within an inch of his life and is carried home to bed.

Undaunted our hero, on recovery, determines to carry out his ideal, but realises that to be a perfect knight he requires a squire to accompany him. He settles on Sancho Panza a country yokel whom with difficulty he persuades to leave his wife and children and to accompany him on his travels. He paints pleasant pictures for his squire of booty to be gained and perhaps an island to be conquered over which Sancho will reign as governor. Sancho Panza is a small squat creature, corpulent and cunning—and with an eye for gain at as little cost as possible. He agrees to go provided he is allowed to bring his ass, since he does not take kindly to walking. Don Quixote then adopts as the lady of his dreams a buxom lass of the village who is entirely unconscious of this honour, and he names her Dulcinea. Thus we have all complete for adventure; and the two set forth, Don Quixote the idealist and Sancho Panza the realist, the former in armour on his scraggy horse and the latter seated on his ass with his fat legs dangling at its sides. For Don Quixote all the world is transformed: the windmills that he meets, for example, are giants against whom he must do battle, but to Sancho windmills are only windmills. Strolling tradesmen are rival knights to be challenged by the great knight Don Quixote, while Sancho strives to solve the puzzle of it all. Through all the various encounters and adventures we see this antinomy of minds between the Ingenious Hidalgo and Sancho Panza. But the cream of the comedy is not in the bizarre situations but in the conversation of the hero and his squire.

Francis Thompson describes the book as "a core of scornful and melancholic protest, set about with a pulp of satire and outside all a rind of thick burlesque". It is not every reader who can penetrate to that core. Byron failed to do so when he wrote that Cervantes "laughed Spain's

chivalry away". But, as Francis Thompson points out, " chivalry was no more in a country where it [*Don Quixote*] could be written". Hero and idealist himself, Cervantes was saddened at the disappearance of true chivalry before the onslaughts of the materialistic spirit. It is true, then, to say that his great novel is this hidden cry of disappointment. The tragedy of the Ingenious Hidalgo is the true keynote despite the cloak of satire and of laughter. The laughter of Cervantes is never directed at the ideal, even when most it seems to be. It is rather a two-edged sword aimed first at the silly caricature of that ideal in knight-errant literature and then at the growing materialistic spirit in all its forms. What was truly poetic, noble and beautiful in the concept of knighthood Cervantes incorporated in his novel, but he laughed away that false idealism which was entirely unrelated to practical life.

Cervantes' concept of true idealism is shown in the very growth of the character of his hero, Don Quixote. Starting as no more than a monomaniac, the complete parody of an Amadis de Gaula, Don Quixote gradually reveals himself as something far greater. Little by little he sheds the mere parody, is ennobled even when his failure is complete by the purity of his ideal and thus dominates and transforms everything around him. He triumphs over his frivolous and malicious mockers by his very gentleness and sincerity, and comes forth in the fulness of his aesthetic life in the second part of the novel. He then no longer moves us to pity, but rather to veneration. Wisdom flows from his lips and, even if we still contemplate him with a smile, it is not one of derision but rather one of respect. We look upon him as at one and the same time a true hero and the parody of heroism. For that reason *Don Quixote* is the last of the books of knight-errantry and by far the greatest.

Next to Don Quixote himself as one of the immortal characters in literature is Sancho Panza his squire. His is a character almost as complex as is that of his master in spite of its apparent and deceptive simplicity. Again it would be a very superficial judgment that would hold that Cervantes conceived Sancho Panza merely as a symbol of the opposition of the real to the ideal—that is of prosaic common sense to romantic high-mindedness. He is all that indeed, but he is also more. His character undergoes an elaboration no less gradual than does that of Don Quixote himself. From his first appearance he is a necessary element in the general parody, but he differs from the ordinary idea of the squire by his importance in the whole scheme of things and by his comedy. Sancho Panza is at one and the same time full of self-interest and yet loyal to his master. He is following what he does not understand—and is enabled to do so because, in some hidden depth of his rough and uncouth nature, there is a conviction that what he follows is good and right.

Under the gentle discipline of his master Sancho Panza gradually improves, and if he does not attain by martial effort to the status of a

knight, by his good sense he develops into a prudent and honest ruler. He also develops a sort of practical philosophy which he expounds by means of proverbs. If his master's influence and example do not succeed completely in dispelling his uncouthness and utilitarian outlook, they succeed in tempering them to a marvellous extent. Sancho, therefore, is no mere incomplete and vulgar expression of practical wisdom as contrasted with pure idealism; nor is he merely that element of humour essential to human tragicomedy—he is far more than that. His is a spirit redeemed by his master Don Quixote, the first and greatest triumph of the Ingenious Hidalgo. While forming his own character, Don Quixote also forms that of his squire. Consequently, the whole book provides a glorious paradox, the conquest of an ideal by a madman and a rustic. Madness instructing and correcting worldly prudence: common sense ennobled by its contact with idealism. Seldom has so much been hidden beneath the cloak of laughter.

Many critics have held that the philosophy expounded in *Don Quixote* is a philosophy of frustration, for none of the deeds of the hero ever achieve any objective. But is this quite true? Can it be said that the proposal of ideal justice in the world may not be in itself an objective? Whilst it is true that such justice can never be fully attained in this life, is it not by aspiring after it that we attain to some measure of it. If we all turned our eyes more towards the stars, as Don Quixote counsels, and less towards the petty squabbles of men, charity would come into its own. A philosophy of frustration leads to melancholy, and for that reason Nietzsche considered *Don Quixote* a book of bitterness and sorrow. But can that book be bitter and sorrowful which, whilst pointing out the opposition between the material and the ideal in this life, also indicates that we must await the triumph of our ideals in the world to come. For him whose interests are only in things earthly failure to attain his entire objective may cause melancholy and anxiety. Not so, however, for him whose eyes are focussed on eternity; by him the trials of life can be cheerfully endured. Thus it was with Don Quixote himself. He may be defeated and his lance may be broken, but his ideal endures.

One does not need, however, to be a philosopher nor does one need to penetrate to the inner core of glorious satire to enjoy this unique book. There is genuine and healthy laughter in every one of its pages, and while we laugh we are also meeting the pleasantest of people. We are brought into contact with the ordinary people of Spain, with its national life at a time when it had attained to its greatest glory. This alone is no small achievement of such a book, and for Spaniards it has become the symbol of their national life; while for all mankind it has become the symbol of human laughter and good sense. And for that reason all the world loves Don Quixote and his faithful Sancho Panza.

THOMAS J. O'DONNELL, S.J.

THE NEW YORK COMMISSIONERS OF EMIGRATION AND IRISH IMMIGRANTS*

1847—1860

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD J. PURCELL, PH.D., LL.B.
Catholic University of America

THE care of the continually increasing horde of European aliens entering the port of New York fell within the general state quarantine and poor laws and local ordinances, whose enforcement failed because of political corruption and the general disdain of lesser men for the poorer sort of immigrants. A general tax, authorized by state law, was levied on all incoming passengers to maintain the Marine Hospital at the quarantine station which handled all communicable diseases and to finance the care of the sick who were assigned to the Convalescent Hospital and unregulated private hospitals. All facilities were burdened beyond capacity because of the unusual percentage of sick on disease-laden ships freighted with immigrants under horrible conditions. Some hospitals were maintained by passenger brokers, in order to avoid their bonded responsibilities, and some institutions as Tapscott's Poor House and Hospital, operated by a brokerage firm of that name, " were not fit for animals to live in".[1]

The terrible condition of pauper arrivals and the heavy mortality, especially of children, in the poor-houses and in the hospitals operated by shippers and their agents aroused more fear of contagion than human sympathy for helpless deportees. After a prodded investigation, the almshouse commissioner of New York City reported that the destitution and suffering of arrivals was beyond the description of his pen ; he observed : " Many of them had far better have been cast into the deep sea than linger in the pangs of hunger, sickness and pain, to draw their last agonizing breath in the streets of New York."[2]

Political corruption explained the lack of law enforcement and the laxity of regulation quite as much as the conscienceless irresponsibility of the community. At any rate, the bonding system was far from effective. While passenger brokers might give bonds for the support of sick and helpless paupers whom they landed on the docks, they managed through official connivance to dodge the payment of relief costs. If the law had prevailed, bonds been enforced, and commutation fees collected from all brokers and shippers, there could have been little complaint of the burden of Irish or other paupers by the municipality of New York. The commutation fee was a dollar on every foreign arrival. To the Marine Fund every cabin passenger paid 2 dollars, steerage 50 cents, and coastal arrivals 25 cents under state statute of 1844. In the first eleven months of 1846

*All notes will be found at end of article.

there were 101,950 arrivals, but only 9,229 dollars were collected by the city in commutation taxes because of the corrupt or ineffective management of the immigrant traffic. Public demand for a tightening of the system became more urgent because of fears of an epidemic and of increasing costs to the taxpayers, as ships profited from crowded steerage lists. Nor was the situation improved by the state-deported paupers from various German sovereignties.[3]

As fully three-fourths of the immigrants were Irish and German people and as at least half of them were Catholics in profession or faith, a group of interested Catholics met in the winter of 1846–1847 to consider the whole immigrant problem and to arrange for the relief of stricken and indigent immigrants. Among the more determined proponents of reform were Andrew Carrigan, John E. Devlin, and Bishop John Hughes.[4] At a meeting of the Irish Emigrant Society, Charles Shea urged that the commutation dollar be paid to the city not to the brokers, as he noted that the city received only 10,000 dollars from the payments of 116,000 immigrants in the past year, and that in the discretion of the mayor a bond of 300 dollars be demanded for passengers who were likely to become public charges. Nor did he minimize the influence of ship-brokers in the executive and legislative halls of Albany. As for the atrocious private hospital system, he had seen as many as 60 persons kept in a room of 20 by 22 feet. It was resolved by the Society to petition the legislature for a change in the bonding system and the Congress for an act to protect the health and lives of immigrants.[5] Female immigrants were unprotected from the enticements of pimps for houses of ill fame. An occasional "social worker" like Frances Dolan, a native of Fermanagh, did heroic work on behalf of ill-informed and inexperienced Irish girls.[6]

As a result of this agitation and the supplementary activities of various racial emigrant societies and humanitarian groups, the legislature did pass an act, May 5, 1847, which set up the Commissioners of Emigration. Under their responsibility of protecting incoming aliens, the Commissioners were empowered to lease or to purchase piers which would be enclosed and from which emigrants could be landed only in official lighters. They licensed boarding-house keepers who were bonded, paid a fee of 25 dollars, and were denied any right of a lien on baggage for actual or fictitious charges for services rendered. They also licensed runners—who paid a fee of 25 dollars and were bonded at 300 dollars—and supervised ticket agents. They were ordered to see that masters of all vessels, including coastal traders, reported within 24 hours to the mayor of their arrival in port, submitted a list of passengers, and furnished a bond of 300 dollars for every lunatic, idiot, mute, or blind person who was not with an emigrating family and who, therefore, was liable to become a public burden. The Commissioners were ordered to submit to the legislature an annual report of their labors.[7]

The original Commissioners of Emigration consisted of four ex-officio members and six outstanding unsalaried members appointed by the Governor. The appointees were Gulian C. Verplanck, chairman,[8] James Boorman, Jacob Harvey, a philanthropic Quaker, Robert B. Minturn, merchant and shipper,[9] William Havemeyer, and David Colden of a distinguished social and political family. The ex-officio members were the mayors of New York and Brooklyn[10] and the presidents of the active German Emigrant Society[11] and of the Irish Emigrant Society.[12] As the years passed, there were equally competent and self-sacrificing commissioners, appointed or ex-officio, to fill vacancies. William McArdle succeeded Harvey who died in 1848. Andrew Carrigan was named a commissioner, in 1848, to the satisfaction of friends of the immigrant whom he had long served.[13] John E. Devlin was named in 1850[14]; James Kelley, in 1852; John A. Kennedy, in 1853; and James Mathews, in 1854, "a well-known citizen of great worth and benevolence" who succeeded Dillon as president of the Irish Emigrant Society and hence on the Commission, only to die within a few months later (April 1854), and who, in turn, was succeeded by Andrew Carrigan.

A preliminary report of the Commissioners, covering May 5 to September 30 1847, showed 101,546 entrants, of whom only 25 had to be bonded, and of whom 40,820 were Irish and 43,208 were Germans. Another account reported 50,000 German arrivals in New York City from January 1 to October 1, as it pointed out that the poorer Germans came *via* Canada.[15] These arrivals paid fees amounting to 101,677 dollars, and relief disbursements were only 30,585 dollars.[16] The first annual report[17] covering from May 5 to December 31, 1847, noted 129,062 arrivals of whom 53,180 were Germans and 52,946 Irish people. Of all groups, 10,594 persons were given some form of relief. Thus, in spite of the unusual year and the multitude of people fleeing death and famine, immigrants had paid enough commutation money to carry all current relief charges and to guarantee the local units of the state government all charges for a five-year period. There was less sickness than anticipated, though there were 4,081 deaths at sea or in the detention hospitals—as in the Marine Hospital on Staten Island, which was criticized for discharging patients prematurely—and among emigrant refugees on Ward's Island and on Blackwell's Isle.[18] An agent, David Neligan, was appointed to serve at Albany, a forwarding center for emigrants headed westward. He furnished weekly reports of his problems and services. In connection with this westward movement, the Commissioners advised prospective immigrants against runners' agents in Europe who often sold worthless inland tickets or over-charged for such tickets. They urged immigrants to counsel with racial emigrant societies in New York or with their national consuls and to buy tickets for the West *via* Albany-Buffalo or Philadelphia-Pittsburgh (with daily conveyances on each route) from authorized agents

who fell within the Commission's immediate supervision. The German Emigrant Society was successfully advising immigrants to go west into the agricultural country.[19] Correspondence with contractors was undertaken to locate jobs for laborers on public works. A single individual in New Jersey was reported to have found employment for several hundred workers on shovel and pick assignments which native labor would refuse.

The rising number of immigrants coming *via* Canada did not fall within the Commission's jurisdiction. They, probably, caused some relief burden to local county and town authorities. This difficulty was partially met by a supplementary act which required masters of vessels landing in lake ports of northern New York to report to local authorities and to pay a commutation tax which was assigned to county superintendents of the poor to maintain pauper immigrants.[20]

For the year 1848, the Commissioners reported 195,509 arrivals (including citizens) of whom 189,176 persons paid commutation fees. Of these aliens, 98,061 were Irishmen and 51,973 Germans.[21] Of 1,041 vessels landing passengers, 531 were of American registry, 341 British, and 125 German. The ratio of sick persons on American ships was 9.4, compared to 8·6 on German vessels with surprisingly little ship fever, and 30 on British ships. A total of 27,523 persons were given some relief in the way of food, shelter, and hospitalization. In general there was a decided improvement in ship conditions because of a parliamentary act of March 28, 1848 and a congressional statute of May 17, 1848.

A supplementary legislative Act, April 11, 1848, based upon the previous year's experience, sought to guard immigrants from frauds which were inflicted upon them by agents, runners, and boarding-house keepers—not unusually of their own nationalities, dialects and brogues. To carry out the provisions of the act, the Commissioners leased their own pier at 3,000 dollars per year, but a suit in court prevented its use for the time being. Despite all efforts on the part of the Commissioners, the license system had not improved the character of the runners, whose official badges deceived innocent aliens, and the frequency of robberies reported by emigrants in boarding-houses suggested collusion. Every exertion was being made to prevent grafting charges, and the Commissioners recommended an elimination of the system of runners and various corrections in the management of rooming-houses, often operated by avaricious harpies.[22]

The address to emigrants (March 27, 1848) by Gregory Dillon of the Irish Emigrant Society must have been widely circulated[23] and should have been most serviceable to arrivals and a valuable support for the Commissioners of Emigration :—

> Many come with the expectation of meeting . . . influential friends. Such a hope is futile, unless the friend . . . is a long resident . . . and of correct deportment and . . . offers his assistance . . . You must be prepared before your

departure with . . . minute directions . . . for finding him upon your arrival. Often persons have landed here apparently with the expectation that, by merely asking for their friend of the first man they meet, they would be enabled to find him; whereas . . . it would be difficult if he had the number and name of the street . . . Differences . . . in pronunciation may lead to misunderstanding. However, every individual emigrating will find that he has but his own exertions upon which to depend.

Upon the coming of the ship into the harbour of New York, she will be boarded by an agent of this society, by whose directions it will be highly advantageous for you to be guided. She will also be boarded by a large number of persons known as "runners," many of whom are Irishmen speaking the Irish language, who . . . apply to emigrants to take board and lodging at the different board-houses for which they may be employed . . . They will agree to furnish you . . . board at a trifling price, and after having got you and your baggage at their houses, will give you a meagre entertainment, and . . . demand 2, 3 and 4 times what they agreed and what would be reasonable, and will refuse to permit your baggage . . . to leave their premises until their extortionate charge be paid, and will perhaps maltreat you besides. It is much easier . . . to avoid such difficulty than for us to relieve you, after you have become involved.

This society keeps an office . . . where . . . advice . . . as to boarding houses and their proper rates . . . as to travelling routes and their expenses will be . . . gratuitously furnished . . .

There is another species of fraud . . . Many persons (the greater proportion of . . . Irish birth) have . . . offices where they pretend to conduct agencies for certain railroads, steamboats, and other modes of transportation, and . . . employ "runners" who will board your ship. Should you unadvisedly deal with them, you will surely be defrauded. They will sell you tickets which purport to entitle you, with your baggage, to a passage to your destination. Upon the faith of this . . . and having reached perhaps the first stopping place, you are informed that the ticket is utterly worthless, or may be called upon to pay freight for your baggage, and find the charge . . . exceeding in amount that which you already paid. It requires nothing from us to picture . . . the distress to which you may be . . . exposed . . . in a lonely part of the country, or among a people who by constantly seeing such things have grown to a degree callous. It is sufficient, however, for . . . you . . . to be put upon your guard . . .

For the following year, 1849, the Commissioners reported 1,651 vessels, of which 594 were American, 371 British, and only 85 German ships carrying 220,603 aliens of whom 57,705 were Germans and 112,591 persons who were described as Irish. Each of these aliens paid a fee of 1.50 dollars, and the Marine Hospital was reserved exclusively for infectious cases.[24]

In conformity with a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the state legislature revised its immigration laws in an act of April 11, 1849, which required every master to file a 300 dollars bond for every passenger with the provision that this could be commuted within three days by the payment of a 1.50 dollars per head. This avoided the technical head-tax and was undoubtedly constitutional until 1875, when this arrangement was held otherwise by the Supreme Court of the United States. A bond of 500 dollars for a ten-year period was required for lunatics, idiots, blind, mutes, infirm persons, who were not with their families.

A year later there was added to this category all persons over sixty years of age and widows or husbandless women accompanied by children. Another act, April 13, 1850, aimed to protect immigrants who came by steerage and deck passage by ordering prices posted with mayors of New York, Buffalo, Albany, and Troy relative to tickets and baggage and providing sections for various classes of immigrants, space on deck, and protective coverage for decks.[25]

The Commissioners reported 212,796 alien arrivals for 1850, of whom 45,535 were Germans and 117,038 were Irish. About 50,000 persons required temporary aid. While their agency had charge of effects of deceased aliens who left upwards of 25 cents, they sought similar control over the effects of immigrants who died on shipboard. Medical services were improved with ten visiting physicians ; and three of these doctors—J. M. Carnochan, William MacNeven and George Ford—were distinguished representatives of the race which furnished a majority of the patients. In addition, there were house physicians and four consulting physicians, of whom J. Kearny Rodger was quite outstanding. At quarantine, the Commissioners distributed a pamphlet, " Advice to Emigrant Passengers," which advised immigrants concerning the services officially rendered and warned them of all dangers and frauds which were apt to be perpetrated. The Commission's activities were further extended by the establishment of an Intelligence Office and Labor Exchange on Canal Street which had found 8,000 jobs without any charge to employer or employee. This was a noteworthy step, for employment agencies of the corrupt sort were the most vicious and unmoral snares of greenhorn victims.[26]

The administration of Ward's Isle, under Doctor Griscom, met sharp criticism, some of which was political and based upon the hostility to the protective care given to immigrants as well as to a superstitious or unreasonable dread of dissecting. A grand jury, with William Conley as foreman, vindicated the Commission, although there was a disagreeing minority report signed by Andrew Clark and Bernard McGuire. Gregory Dillon's report on the dissecting of the dead and the digging up of buried corpses, after hearing an examination of the physicians and clerks in charge, asserted that the refuges were not laboratories ; that immigrants were not paupers regardless of the views of visiting physicians, for they were relieved by their own contributions which properly managed were quite sufficient to carry all charges ; and that the state contributed nothing to a fund from which 5,000 dollars was paid to the resident physicians and 3,000 dollars to a general agent and his secretary. For himself, Dillon, who believed that the charges had been substantiated, insisted : " If medical science cannot be advanced without violating the rights of the dead, the law of the land, or the sacred feelings of the living, I prefer that it should stand still."[27]

The Fifth Report, covering the year 1851, noted the arrival of 289,771 immigrants, of whom 69,883 were Germans and 163,256 were classified as Irish. With improved shipping conditions under the revised British and American regulations, immigrants were in better health on debarkation. Yet it was urged by the Commissioners that the Congress require more space per head on immigrant ships. The longest passage was 106 days, and the shortest 10 days. Presumably these tediously long passages explained 187 deaths en route as well as 534 births.[28] It was urged that more strenuous efforts be made to diffuse correct information regarding expenses and routes into the interior of the country and to bring immigrants into contact with relatives and friends who were already located in the States. It was becoming more difficult to find jobs for laborers as manpower exceeded the demand. However, the Labor Exchange located work for 18,824 persons, and many indigent immigrants were cared for in temporary asylums. A Catholic priest and a Protestant minister were retained to minister to immigrants, and both chaplains were familiar with the German tongue.[29]

Referring to the immigrants of all nations as a body, it was observed that many arrivals were needy and shiftless and that some were of the imbecile and parish-pauper stamp. Shiploads of helpless souls were sent in the winter or induced by lower seasonal rates and became a permanent burden. To avoid this situation, further congressional legislation was held to be essential. But the great bulk of newcomers were regarded as desirable accessions to the American population as the report maintained: "It might be shown that the vast influx of foreign capital, skill, and labor . . . has been singularly advantageous to this country . . . But from the survey of the position the Board . . . cannot doubt that, notwithstanding the number of those claiming relief, the physical capability, the industry, the skill, and the wealth of the country have been greatly and substantially augmented by foreign immigration."[30] Again an experience of five years demonstrated that the commutation fees and special bonds were quite sufficient to meet current expenses and to indemnify the counties of New York State for their expenditures on immigrant relief. In defense of their administration the Commissioners did not hesitate to point out that, "taking into view the number and condition of those who are entitled to relief from the Commission, the ratio of expenditure per capita is probably below that of our best regulated municipal charities".[31]

The report for 1852 showed that in a total of 300,992 immigrants, 118,131 were Irish and 118,611 Germans. There was an increase in English and a decrease in Irish arrivals. Typhus, cholera, and small-pox together with an early and severe winter took a heavy toll of the arrivals. There was an increase in mortality which included physicians and nurses, and the tremendous number of 117,500 persons of all nationalities required relief of some sort. As an indication of the Commission's fairness and the

improved status of the local Irish element, even in the professions, it may be noted that E. J. Prendergast was added as a physician and William O'Donohue as a temporary doctor, while Bernard Casserly who had been employed by the Commission from its creation was elected secretary. In spite of the poor immigrants' sufferings, there was no decline in tricksters' frauds practised upon the unwary and frightened multitudes of British and European peasants.[32]

The following year (1853) witnessed a drop in the total arrivals at the Port of New York to 284,945 and of the Irish to 113,164 entrants. All told 91,774 current alien arrivals and immigrants of the past five years were given some aid during the year. In this number were included sick and dying, including " a number of emigrant laborers who had been employed on the Panama Railroad and had returned affected with fevers, some of a very malignant character".[33] Among the martyrs to immigrant ministrations was M. O'K. Reedy, M.D., who died of a pulmonary disease aggravated by his contacts with the emigrant poor as a visiting and examining physician at their slum homes and in the receiving hospitals for contagious diseases. Concerning him, the Commissioners testified: " Dr. Reedy was a physician of high education, of great skill and experience, and of exemplary diligence and attention to his duties among the poor, where the results of his practise were eminently successful."[34]

The year 1854 proved a bad year with widespread disease in Europe, shipwrecks, an early and sharp winter, rising prices in America, and a failing market for labor. In general public works and industry had absorbed all the cheap labor that it could even in the busy seasons of the year. Still the immigrants came—319,223 of them, including 83,302 Irishmen—to complicate the local problems of relief and unemployment. As far as possible willing and destitute persons were forwarded to the interior, where casual work was more available and competition for jobs less intense. As cargoes of helpless paupers, including convicts, arrived from European continental cities the Commissioners urged that the need of regulatory legislation should be brought to the attention of the Congress. Furthermore, the Commissioners recommended to the legislature that a suitable wharf should be provided as their earlier efforts to obtain an exclusive pier had been enjoined by a court order.[35]

Again the Commissioners reported a casualty in the case of Dr. MacNeven, a visiting physician and member of their medical board from the beginning. He succumbed to pulmonary consumption (January 1854) after exemplary and unremitting efforts on behalf of sick immigrants. He was succeeded by his assistant, Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet. There also died the charitable Gregory Dillon, president of the Irish Emigrant Society, whom his fellow commissioners extolled unqualifiedly: " Mr. Dillon was one of our oldest and most respected adopted citizens, and had for years devoted himself with zeal and energy to the welfare of emigrants

from his native land. In the service of this Commission, he extended the same benevolent zeal to the destitute from all nations who came under his care, and his attention to his different duties were unremitting and faithful."[36]

The Commissioners, meeting in January 1855, established a soup kitchen, refused to take seriously criticism of the city council or charges of the police captains, and heard complaints emanating from employers who would reduce wages in view of surplus manpower. M. Fagan complained that immigrants refused to replace striking stevedores at Minturns and elsewhere unless paid 1.75 dollars per day. Nor, he added, do pauper immigrants want to go to the country. J. A. Kennedy, a Scotch-Irishman, was opposed to unions and had never pretended to be a friend of the working-classes. If immigrants would not replace strikers, he would let them go into the streets. Kelly maintained about the same attitude, and as a result the Commissioners voted that not more than a night's lodging should be given to a person who turned down a job.[37] Fear of bad times in the States and in Canada, an increase in the commutation fees to 2.00 dollars of which 50 cents were allotted to the counties (1853), and the higher cost of passage, due to regulations restricting the number of passengers carried in any vessel, cut the number of arrivals at the port of New York, in 1855, to 136,233, of whom only 43,043 were Irish and 52,892 Germans. Claimants for relief were fewer ; and hospital beds were actually vacant.[38]

The latter part of the year 1855 saw a marked decrease in the number of destitute and diseased immigrants ; but in the early winter of 1856 the refuges were crowded, outdoor relief was larger than ever before, and relief costs were higher by a third as a result of rising prices. Unemployment was more than seasonal.[39] There was a diminution of hardship and of fraud on the part of runners and agents, who preyed upon newcomers of their own race, after Castle Garden, an old fort, was made the sole receiving depot. This safeguarded arrivals, who were " enabled to depart for their future homes without having their means impaired, their morals corrupted, and probably their persons diseased".[40]

The Commissioners adopted highly satisfactory rules for the operation of the Castle Garden depot : a careful examination of arrivals to see who should be bonded ; a record of immigrants bonded or sent to hospitals ; advice as to destinations and routes without favor toward any ticket office ; interior of castle free to immigrants until departure ; Croton aqueduct water for bathing before leaving the depot ; luggage to be placed by shipping company into the depot, from depot to destination by ticket agent, and from the depot to any part of the city by the owner ; baggage to be checked and weighed ; no runner to be allowed in the depot ; and all interpreters and ticket-sellers to be under the full authority of the Emigration Commissioners.[41] Tammany Mayor Fernando Wood, himself

a former shipping merchant, was active in the movement to stem pauper emigration.[42] In a message to the city council, Wood complained of the inhuman extortions practised on emigrants, called for stringent regulations to prevent runners boarding emigrant ships, to prevent such ships from drawing up along another vessel, and to police the piers. Continental countries were exporting their paupers and felons. The city was left to support criminals, whereas the State had the emigrant fund and should handle the problem.[43]

In a pointed letter[44] Mayor Wood explained :—

> There can be no doubt that, for many years, this port has been made a sort of penal colony for felons and paupers by the local authorities of several of the continental European nations. The desperate character of a portion of the people arriving here from those countries—together with the increase of crime and misery among that class of our population, with other facts before us—prove conclusively that such is the case . . .
>
> New York has submitted to it long enough. The disease and pauperism arriving here almost daily from abroad is of itself a sufficient evil ; but when to it is added crime, we must be permitted to remonstrate. We ask the interference of the general government ; as it is its duty to protect us from foreign aggression with ball and cannon, so it is its duty to protect us against an enemy more insidious and destructive, though coming in another form.

Again, for the year 1856, immigration slowed down to 142,342, of whom over 44,276 were Irish. There was a marked improvement in the status of immigrants, who were generally able to take care of themselves.[45] Of Irish physicians and surgeons, the report named George Ford, J. Murray Carnochan, Dwyer, and William Cassiday.

Despite the successful operation of Castle Garden there were published attacks made upon this institution which forced an investigation by the grand jury. Its report, which gave the Commission a clean bill of health, pointed out that earlier immigrants were robbed by boarding-house harpies and then turned out as paupers, that commissioners and their employees were obliged to arm themselves against vicious runners employed by brokers from whom now most of the attacks upon the depot emanated, that the police were censurable for their conniving inactivity, and that the mayor's office, instead of listening to reports of harpies, should take steps to disperse the motley crowd which awaited outside the Garden to prey upon immigrants.[46] There was an understandable hostility on the part of some forwarders and their runners who victimized helpless immigrants. They actually sent agents to Europe and instructed their European ticket-sellers to warn prospective immigrants to avoid Castle Garden. Some of these arrivals, who landed in neighbouring ports, reported to the Castle Garden authorities that they had been robbed.[47]

Emigration was a big and a highly lucrative business, and there were vested interests which did not favor reforms that cut their former profits. Nor could emigration problems or the Commissioners be kept immune from politics in New York democracy. Rightly or wrongly, George W.

Blount had complained that he was removed from the Commission by Governor Seymour at the dictation of the Irish Romanist vote.[48] Whatever the justice of his contention or his fancied wrongs, the Irish vote was something for the Democratic Party to consider, for Editor James A. McMaster of the *Freemen's Journal* estimated the Baptized Catholics of New York City at 300,000 in 1856.[49]

The Emigration Commissioners made every reasonable effort to protect immigrants, especially females, from the fangs of man-catchers, to safeguard the property and morals of all arrivals, to furnish food at cost, to write letters back home for the illiterate, to safeguard men against liquor, to make fair loans on baggage, to handle remittances, and to forward immigrants into the interior. While some arrivals were very poor, Superintendent John A. Kennedy reported, in 1856, that the average amount of money brought was 68.08 dollars—which would have been doubled, he thought, if there had been no cautious concealment for fear of loss or theft. Englishmen over-rated their cash in pocket, while the Irish and Germans understated the amount and suspiciously concealed their money. Officials maintained that immigrants, by and large, possessed a larger sum of cash per head than that held by the average inhabitants of any known community.[50]

The Commissioners dispatched an agent to warn European authorities and our consuls in European centers concerning the difficulties faced by immigrants, in order that steps be taken to prevent the export of worthless persons. With salutary legislation regarding shipping and proper informative warnings, immigrants were better prepared to meet American conditions and to plan their own future. A supplementary legislative act aimed to prevent scandalous ticket frauds, to license lighterage companies, and to regulate runners who were to be of respectable character, to wear marking badges, and to be supervised by the Commission.[51]

During the year 1857, 185,186 persons landed in 615 vessels at Castle Garden, of whom 183,773 paid commutation fees including 57,119 persons who were denominated Irish.[52] In the United States and Europe, the year was unusually healthful. This together with better advised immigrants of a superior class explained their ability to maintain themselves with a minimum of assistance. President Pierce's Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, had called the attention of European governments to the various frauds practised in their ports on emigrants to America: the sale of fraudulent tickets, over-charges for transportation to the interior of the United States; and consignments of immigrants to dishonest confederates in the New World.

The twelfth report of the Commission, covering 1858, indicated only 78,589 arrivals, who paid commutation taxes, including 31,874 Germans and 25,075 Irishmen.[53] While the need for relief was reduced to a minimum and ships were rather free from epidemic diseases, there was a riotous

attack by immigrants against the Marine Hospital, which was suppressed summarily by policemen and marines.[54] In answer to Andrew Carrigan's report to the Commissioners of flagrant abuses for which evidence could be furnished, Senator William H. Seward, a Whig and an intimate friend of Archbishop Hughes, and Congressman John Kelly, a native-born Democrat, moved in Congress for more effective enactments to protect the virtue and safety of emigrants.[55]

Planned distribution of immigrants throughout the country had not been successful. Of 84,226 individuals landing in 451 vessels at Castle Garden, 34,296 elected to remain in New York State, 8,630 to go to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 5,400 to New England, 4,962 to the South, and 30,938 to the West. The Irish arrivals would not show up favorably in this desirable distribution. In general, Irish Catholics remained in New York or went to nearby New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts—and in some volume to Ohio. The Germans and later-coming Scandinavians, fortunately for themselves, moved westward in large numbers and settled on their own freeholds at 1.25 dollars an acre and, after 1862, as homesteaders on 160 acres of free land.

The situation for 1859 was not out of pattern. Relief diminished; no contagious diseases were reported; vessels were uncrowded with only an average of 196 passengers. Only 85,602 souls in 437 vessels landed at Castle Garden, and there were only 32,652 Irish and 28,270 German people among the 79,322 persons who paid commutation fees. On advice and with loans advanced on their baggage, immigrants, according to their reports, distributed themselves with some wisdom: 40,923 remained in New York State; 9,991 went to Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 8,510 to New England; 5,066 to the South; and 21,112 to the western states.

The fourteenth report of the Emigration Commissioners covered 1860. Bernard Casserly had become general agent as well as secretary, and James P. Fagan was superintendent of Ward's Island where George Ford was physician. Apparently every effort was made to meet the wants of Catholic immigrants with the appointment of Father A. Monahan at Ward's Island and the employment of Madames Browne and Molloy to teach the Catholic children. Furthermore a congressional act, March 24, 1860, was aimed to protect female passengers from the various pitfalls unscrupulous individuals contrived for them. At Castle Garden 108,682 entered, and of these 105,162 were aliens including 47,330 Irishmen and 33,889 Germans. Never had there been less demand for public relief nor better immigrants in health, means, and planned objectives. According to their disclosures 56,131 would remain in the state; 12,926 go to Pennsylvania and New Jersey; 10,776 to New England; 4,938 to the South; and 23,911 into the West and into Canada.

In these 13 years from the famine exodus to the War between the States, 2,671,819 immigrants paid commutation fees at the port of New

York: 1,107,034 Irishmen, 975,575 Germans, 315,625 Englishmen, and 71,535 Scots, as accurately as the Commission could determine or sometimes guess national origins. In a ten-year period the Marine Hospital received, from ships or from the hovels of New York, 53,918 immigrants with communicable diseases, and of these unfortunates 8,319 died. The Emigrant Refuge on Ward's Island (originally an old factory with specially created over-flow buildings) cared for 101,622 persons in 13 years. In these drab sheds 5,703 children were born and 3,951 children and 5,910 adults died with a minimum of physical or spiritual ministrations. In these years, 658,250 dollars in commutation money were paid to the counties of New York State, which never were satisfied as to the amounts granted in settlement of their enlarged claims, and 195,109 dollars to private and denominational institutions for the care of indigent aliens. In this tremendous undertaking, the Commission performed a notable service for the immigrants and the State at a time when the Federal Government offered little corrective control.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

---

[1] David M. Schneider, *The History of Public Welfare in New York State*, 1609–1866 (University of Chicago Press, 1938), 304–305. There is a good chapter (XVI) on "Immigration as a Relief Problem" which this writer reviewed in manuscript for the author.

[2] Schneider, *op. cit.*, 305, quoting Moses Leonard, *Paupers and Criminals, Memorial*, 8–9. See, Richard J. Purcell, two chapters on immigration into New York, in A. C. Flick, (ed.), *History of New York*, VII (1937), 1–59, and his essay on "The Early Irish in Albany, New York," in the current *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society.

[3] *The Truth Teller* (New York), January 9, 23, 1847. There was a general fear in America that foreign governments were effecting an economy by shipping paupers to the States. *Niles Weekly Register*, 67 : 258 ; 71 : 341, 401.

[4] Talbot Smith, *Diocese of New York*, I, 159. For Bishop Hughes, see Richard J. Purcell in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 352 f.

[5] *The Truth Teller* (New York), January 30, 1847. See, Richard J. Purcell, "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York," *Studies*, December 1938, 583–599.

[6] Obituary notice of Mrs. Thomas Dolan, in *The Truth Teller*, May 1, 1847.

[7] *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860, Inclusive* (New York, 1861), appendix, 1 f.

[8] Verplanck (1786–1870) was a lawyer, a professor of the evidences of Christianity at the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary, an ex-Congressman, a state legislator, governor of the city hospital, and a civic leader. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1928), 1649. See, *Annual Reports*, Appendix, 1f.

[9] Minturn, a non-Catholic, was presented by Bishop Hughes to Paul Cullen, then rector of the Irish College in Rome, and was also given a letter to Pope Pius IX with the justification that Minturn was interested in the Catholic Church and that "Catholics, especially the poor emigrants from Ireland, have shared so largely of his bounty and devotion to their interests". Letter, 1848, Hughes to Cullen, *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society (Philadelphia), VIII, 498.

[10] William V. Brady and Francis B. Stryher.

[11] Leopold Bierwith, followed by Adolph Rodenwald and later Gustav Schwab, a highly successful agent for German shipping lines, whose son was an historian and librarian of Yale University.

[12] Gregory Dillon.

[13] *The Truth Teller*, February 12, 1848.

[14] Devlin, one of the few Roman Catholics in the state legislature had been severely criticized by Editor Denman, and probably without much cause in *The Truth Teller*, December 11, 1847, because of his alleged hostility to a reformation of the methods of handling emigrants and his opposition to the demand of Representative Rutherford (a Scotch-Irishman) for an investigation of frauds and the treatment of immigrants by

the Commissioners. Devlin, himself, regarded this paper as no friend of immigration. *The Truth Teller*, October 23, 1847.

[15] *Niles Weekly Register*, 73 : 146.

[16] *The Boston Pilot* noting the heavy influx from St. Johns, N.B., predicted Boston would show a similar surplus. *The Truth Teller*, October 16, 1847 ; *Catholic Herald*, November 5, 1847.

[17] *Annual Reports*, 1–7.

[18] *Annual Reports*, 9 f., 380 f.

[19] *Niles Weekly Register*, 73 : 146.

[20] Schneider, *op. cit.*, 308.

[21] *Niles Weekly Register*, 74 : 316 and 75 : 22 has New York arrivals for 1848 at 161,303 and for 1849 at 160,944 and estimated New York entrants at 70 per cent. of the total immigration into the United States.

[22] *Annual Reports*, 25 f.

[23] The copy here printed is from the *Tipperary Vindicator*, April 29, 1848.

[24] *Annual Reports*, 39 f.

[25] *Annual Reports*, 49 f.

[26] *Annual Reports*, 57 f.

[27] *Annual Reports*, 391 f. The highly critical *Freemen's Journal*, November 30, December 7 and 21, held that investigations should be open to the press, that meetings of the Commissioners should be public, even if some Commissioners would be ruined by the light of day, and that Griscom, as desired by a majority of the Commissioners, should be removed from office.

[28] *Annual Reports*, 76 f.

[29] The Report for 1857 referred to the services of Gordon Winslow and Mark Murphy who administered heroically to the sick and dying. *Annual Reports*, 298.

[30] *Annual Reports*, 76–77.

[31] *Annual Reports*, 108.

[32] *Sixth Report*, 111 f.

[33] *Annual Reports*, 145. Wm. H. Aspinwall, merchant prince, promoted this railroad, using Irish labour and a New York charter. He was a grand-uncle of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Richard J. Purcell in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 396.

[34] *Annual Reports*, 137.

[35] *Annual Reports*, 151 f.

[36] *Annual Reports*, 167, 172, 326.

[37] *Freemen's Journal*, January 27, 1855.

[38] *Annual Reports*, 173 f. The total debarkees was 182,939, but 46,706 were citizens.

[39] Taking immigrants of all kinds, the Marine Hospital treated 2,402 ; the Emigrant Hospital on Ward's Island, 12,901 ; and the New York Hospital and St. Vincent's, 235 persons. Of lunatics, there were 112 hangovers and 86 new cases. Some 39,925 persons were aided with money, board, or lodgings ; 4,426 were forwarded to the interior ; 570 were sent back at their own request ; 374 were buried ; and work was found for 6,047 females and 9,104 males. Receipts were 427,158 dollars and cost 490,189 dollars. Since 1849, the Commissioners spent 3,364,907 dollars out of commutation money without cost to the state for maintenance and relief. See *Freemen's Journal*, February 9, 1856.

[40] *Annual Reports*, 185 ; for approval of Castle Garden as a protected debarkation center, *Freemen's Journal*, June 23, July 7, August 11, 1855.

[41] *Freemen's Journal*, June 23, 1855.

[42] His letter to Belgian Consul, H. W. Mali, *Freemen's Journal*, February 14, 24, 1855.

[43] *Freemen's Journal*, January 20, 1855.

[44] January 2, in *Freemen's Journal*, January 20, 1855.

[45] *Annual Reports*, 195 f.

[46] *Annual Reports*, 204, 409 f.

[47] *Annual Reports*, 345 f.

[48] *Freemen's Journal*, November 4, 1854.

[49] *Metropolitan*, IV, 263.

[50] *Annual Reports*, 345 f. ; *Freemen's Journal*, December 15, from the account of Castle Garden in the *Albany Journal*, December 1, 1855. *Freemen's Journal*, February 10, 1855, estimated pauper immigrants at one per cent., noted the considerable number of well-to-do immigrants and listed some established foreigners including Charles Moran who was worth 200,000 dollars.

[51] *Annual Reports*, Appendix, 55.

[52] *Annual Reports*, 211 f. ; *Freemen's Journal*, January 30, 1858.

[53] *Annual Reports*, 231 f. The panic, long brewing, was at its depths.

[54] *Annual Reports*, 235 f.

[55] *Freemen's Journal*, February 27, 1858.

THE CATHOLIC FRONT IN FRANCE

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

IN the course of a previous article in these pages I had occasion to point out the advantages, as regards the survey of conditions in a given country, enjoyed by the observer from outside: he can see the wood as a whole, while those within it can see only the trees—only perhaps the dense and tangled undergrowth. A similar advantage is enjoyed by the spectator from a safe vantage point of a battle going on below. The fighting men, deafened by the roar of artillery, blinded by smoke and dust, know only what is happening close around them; the spectator can see how the day is going. But there are limits to such advantages. The mere spectator may easily leave out of his calculations certain real but invisible factors that make for victory or defeat—for instance the morale of the troops engaged. Nor can he always reckon the respective forces that go to make either army or gauge their fighting values. So it is with the foreign observer or student of a country, however diligent and well equipped. One can imagine, for instance, a stranger in Ireland reporting conditions here. He would note the state of political parties, economic factors, labour unrest and other discontents, the press, picture-houses and race-meetings, and so forth, yet he might ignore certain other factors obvious enough to ourselves—charitable organisations, the Pioneer Association, the Legion of Mary, religious education, and the like. And so his final estimate and judgment might well be faulty, might even be very wide of the mark.

I

The present writer will attempt no final judgment nor estimate of conditions to-day in France. Nor will he attempt to diagnose her ills, not even what we as Christians might well deem to be the greatest of all her ills, the outcome of many others—the progressive dechristianisation of the masses. This tragic fact, indeed, is not peculiar to France: it is a phenomenon common to many countries—Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, England, the United States, even Poland—to say nothing of the nations to the East. Moreover, as far as France is concerned, this evil has been diagnosed by writers far better equipped to do so than the present writer, notably in a recent book which has caused a painful sensation throughout the Church in France—*La France Pays de Mission?*[1] More recently still—in the Lent of last year in fact—his Eminence Cardinal Suhard, Archbishop of Paris, issued a Pastoral entitled *Essor ou Déclin de l'Eglise* in which he candidly and courageously faced the question as to whether the Church in France (and elsewhere) is making progress or losing ground.[2]

[1] Paris: Editions du Cerf. First published in 1943, the copy before me shows 80,000 copies sold.

[2] It is published as a booklet of 70 pages by the Editions du Vitrail.

This thoughtful and vigorous piece of writing deserves to be read and pondered by every Catholic.

My purpose in this article is much simpler. It is to pass in review some of the forces outside of politics and economics which are working for the regeneration and rechristianisation of their country, forces which are commonly ignored by foreign observers. The survey will not be complete: it will consist chiefly of information gathered during a three weeks' stay in France in August and September of last year. I am fully aware that, that besides those enumerated here, there are many other spiritual and religious forces at work.

I have mentioned above the book *La France Pays de Mission ?*, in which the authors showed that certain regions and certain milieux in France are so thoroughly de-christianized that they can only be considered as coming within the sphere of foreign missions. This book or rather the situation which it set forth had at least one definite and striking result—the founding of what is known as the " Mission de France".[1] It was in fact in 1941 that the French episcopate founded at Lisieux a seminary in which they hoped to train a group of priests who would form a sort of flying column, more or less outside the framework of the parishes and specially trained for the reconquest of France for the Faith. The work before them is summed up in the words *Un effort missionnaire, communitaire, évangélique, séculier*. They are sent to " the lost sheep of the house of Israel". They live in little communities in the midst of the people, sharing their life of poverty, interested in all their concerns, practising charity in all its forms. Already more than a score of these little groups are scattered all over France.

A certain number of priests—I cannot say how many[2]—seeing the extreme need of the closest contact with the masses, have gone so far as to put off clerical dress and don working men's clothes. They have signed on as ordinary workmen in factories, workshops, and mines and live the life of the working-classes in order to win them to Christ, Who Himself lived the life of a working-man for nearly twenty years of His life.

II

But it has long been realized, in France as elsewhere in Christendom, that in our days the clergy alone do not and cannot suffice to carry on the mission of Christianity. The laity must play its part. It was in the Pontificate of Pope Pius XI that this conviction was given effect in the form of Catholic Action, though it does not always function under that specific name. Essentially it means the co-operation of the laity with the clergy in works of charity, zeal, and devotion.

[1]The origins of this movement date from much further back. See the booklet by the Abbé L. Augros entitled *La Mission de France* (Paris, 1945).

[2]I am informed that upwards of twenty priests are engaged in this work, which is known as the Mission de Paris. It is still in the experimental stage.

In France this co-operation has taken many forms under as many titles. Let me mention one with which I was particularly impressed—the " Ligue Féminine d'Action Catholique," whose very efficiently organized headquarters in Paris[1] I visited. In the first place the members number just over 2,300,000—an impressive figure. Their activities fall under four principal heads. 1. Service of libraries in seventy-seven " departments " and 946 " cantons " with 4,458 depots in all parts of France. 2. " Service d'entraide " i.e. little offices all over France where every sort of assistance is given to those in need. 3. Service of family education, giving advice and help to mothers towards the physical, moral, and religious upbringing of their children. 4. " Service de documentation rurale "—i.e. a very well-equipped information bureau, intended chiefly for country districts but open to all. The apostolate to those outside the Church and to fallen away Catholics is carried on by the " équipes (i.e. teams) apostoliques". It publishes a paper—*L'Echo des Françaises*—and many leaflets and pamphlets, holds conferences and congresses, organizes enclosed retreats.

The Ligue concentrates in a particular way on the countryside both because of the great shortage of priests in many districts and because there is more hope of results among the country people—who may have ceased to practise, may even have lost the Faith, but still continue to live by Catholic traditions and are not yet wholly paganized. The Ligue, however, is not alone in its solicitude for the peasantry. There is also the " Mouvement Familial Rural," and there is the J.A.C. (Jeunesse Agricole Catholique). I have before me in an attractive cover a bundle of *Fiches* (in this case leaflets) Rurales, full of all sorts of information useful to country dwellers. It is published by the " Mouvement". Before me too are several attractive little illustrated reviews—*Jeunes Forces Rurales, Foyer Rural, Mon Village, Semeuse de France* for the " jeunes rurales " and *Semeurs de France* for country boys of 14–17, full of stories, motors and aviation, with a little good advice thrown in. *Chef Paysan* is the review of the " dirigeants " (directors is hardly the word in English) of the J.A.C. and there is also *Militant Jaciste*. Priests in country districts are not forgotten either: they have *Les Cahiers du Clergé Rural*, which seems very helpful for its purpose. The present strength of the Jacistes is in the neighbourhood of 250,000. In these countries we have nothing remotely resembling the little periodicals mentioned above. They seem admirably suited to their purpose. Had we something of this sort, we might keep more young people on the Land. We have at all events made a good beginning with *The Landmark*, organ of Muintir na Tire.

III

One of the main preoccupations of the Church, not in rural districts only but still more in towns and cities, is the defence of the family. The

[1] 98 rue de l'Université, VIIe.

late war, with its slaughter of young men, its deportations, its prison camps, and the Resistance, struck very heavy blows at family life in France, as elsewhere in Europe. Governments, too, are concerned with certain aspects of the family problem, notably the decline of the population. One of the principal objects of the " Ligue Féminine," as we have seen, is the care and fostering of family life. There are several other organisations with a similar object. There is the " Mouvement Familial Ménager " with an Institut Familial for training instructors in domestic economy and housewifery. There is the A.M.C. (Association des Mères Chrétiennes) with three little reviews, all extremely practical—*Foyers* (homes), (which is an amalgamation of two others, viz. *Famille et Chrétienté* and *Epoux Parents Educateurs*), *Filles et Garçons* en face de l'amour et du mariage, and *Le Prêtre et la Famille* (revue de pastorale familiale). And there is a Catholic publishing house, the Editions Familiales de France, which brings out a great number of books, all of them having some bearing direct or indirect on family life and the bringing up of children.

This upbringing within the family is, of course, only one aspect, though an all-important one, of education in general. Other aspects are education in the school and the education—for so it must be called—that is independent of, or at least apart from, both family and school. It is this latter aspect that is envisaged by those youth movements which have been such a noteworthy feature of recent times.[1] Catholic France is well equipped in this respect. Besides the old " patronages," which have no precise parallel in these countries, there are the " Scouts de France " and the various specialized sections of the " Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Francaise "—viz. the J.O.C.[2] for young workers, the J.A.C. alluded to above, the J.E.C. for the schools, the J.U.C. for University students. Less important at least for the moment, are the J.M.C. (Jeunesse Maritime Catholique) with 15,000 members, and the J.I.C. (Jeunesse Indépendante Catholique). This last body, which has been in existence for eleven years, exists for young people of the middle classes. It counts some 5,000 " militants " and of course has its periodical—in this case a handsome piece of typography.

All of the specialized corps of this great youth movement have special sections for girls. The movement, which started in Belgium, is just twenty years old. The Jocistes in particular have been gradually growing in strength and enthusiasm, especially since 1940. Its congresses bring together some 70–80,000 delegates from the workshops and factories, etc., and the movement, like that of the Jacistes, numbers 250,000 adherents ; it publishes eleven periodicals. These Jocistes will no doubt later be recruits for the Christian trades unions. As for scouting, Catholic leaders

[1]See *Challenge from Youth* by R. S. Devane, 5/– (Dublin, 1942).

[2]Called in English-speaking countries (for the movement is now international) the Young Christian Workers. Canon Cardijn, the founder, visited the Y.C.W. of England in 1946. There are branches of the Y.C.W. in Belfast and in Wexford.

in France—and Belgium—have a firm belief in this movement.[1] I remember visiting some years ago the camp at Chamarande about thirty miles from Paris, where the Scoutmasters were being given a very thorough training under the direction of a Jesuit Father. I also saw scouting in full swing in the Jesuit College of Saint Michel in Brussels. There is a copious literature in French on the subject of scouting. The " Catholic Scouts de France " are much more numerous than their two rival bodies in France. They are of the Baden-Powell brand and figured in great force at the international Jamboree held near Paris last August. They number 155,000 boys and 53,000 Girl Guides. In addition to all this there is a " Fédération Sportive " with a million members (750,000 young men and 250,000 girls).

IV

When we come to consider education, it soon becomes evident that this is a subject too broad and too fundamental to be confined within the limits of an article.[2] It must suffice to say that the question of the Catholic school has occupied, since 1870, a foremost place on the programme of Catholic efforts in France—as indeed in other countries as well—while on the other hand the laicity of the State school has been a first principle with every French government, save that of Marshal Petain, from 1870 to this day.[3] This means in practice that no educational institution conducted under religious auspices can be assisted out of government funds. In practice also it means that State schools are conducted for the most part under anti-religious auspices. Catholics consequently have to bear the very heavy burden of the upkeep of all their schools and to pay for the State schools as well. In 1947 the bill amounted to 12,000,000,000 francs or some twenty-five million pounds. But the adversaries of the Catholic schools will be satisfied with nothing less than their total abolition. In October last the " Cartel National d'Action Laïque " approached M. Ramadier, then Premier, with this purpose in view and, it appears, were sympathetically received. On the other hand their schools and colleges are free from government inspection and official programmes. Indeed in France the expressions " école libre," " collège libre " mean in practice a Catholic school or college. The future of the Catholic schools is still a political issue, and their fate is still in the balance.

In the higher spheres of education the Catholics of France have institutions of which they may well be proud—the Instituts Catholiques of Paris, Lille, Angers, Toulouse, and Lyons. These Instituts are veritable

[1] See *Etudes*, 5 March 1926, p. 527, La reconstruction spirituelle du pays : Les Scouts de France by R. P. Doncoeur, S.J.

[2] For recent information on the subject of Catholic education in France see *The Clergy Review*, January 1948, p. 33 sqq.

[3] Twice the teaching Orders were actually expelled from France and their property sequestrated—viz in 1881 and in 1901 sqq.

universities in all but the title, the title University being a monopoly of the State. They are not all of equal importance. The most important, naturally, is the Parisian Institute. It is installed in substantial but unimposing buildings, part of which was once the Carmelite monastery where under the Terror a large number of prisoners were confined. I saw the door through which, during the " Massacre of September," hundreds of victims were thrust to be slaughtered by the mob. It bears the simple inscription *Hic ceciderunt*—" here they fell". The Institute possesses a library of 500,000 volumes and some 3,240 (1946) students frequent its classes. These institutes have made most valuable contributions to Catholic literature.

It is not to be thought that Catholic students are debarred from the great schools—the Sorbonne, the Polytechnique, the Ecole Normale, the naval and military academies. On the contrary, of late years especially, these institutions are invaded by Catholics. At Easter 1947 upwards of 4,200 students from the (secular) University of Paris made on foot and fasting a pilgrimage to Chartres (77 kilometres from Paris) where they received Holy Communion.[1]

V

There is a remarkable organisation which carries on religious education apart from schools and colleges : it is named " L'Oeuvre Catholique de l'Evangile". It is almost a Bible Society, except that it concentrates on the Gospels. Its purpose is to spread a knowledge of the Gospels by inducing people to read the New Testament (at least) for themselves, and further to help towards the revival of Catholic morality in France and especially in family life. Leo XIII said of it " There is the foremost of the works of the Church," and two other Popes gave it special blessings. It uses all forms of propaganda—a little bulletin *Evangile,* a " Ligue Catholique de l'Evangile," the chief duty of whose members is to read some pages of the Gospels every day, the publication of books bearing on its aims, study clubs, Journées de l'Evangile, etc. Last May it held in Paris a " Grande Assemblée Populaire d'Information," at which the subject treated was Karl Marx and the Gospel, and it has a great many other activities. But, needless to say, it relies largely on supernatural means, prayer and the Sacraments.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

(*To be continued.*)

[1] To revert for a moment to Catholic education, the day I visited the Basilica of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre there were being distributed at the doors handbills announcing L'Exposition de l'Enseignement Catholique Francais, which was to be open from September the 14th to November 3rd. It stated that there are a million and a half children in Catholic schools.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

BY ELIZABETH BELLOC

" A stone upon my heart and head
And no name written on the stone."

SO wrote Elizabeth Barrett as she lay in an upper room in her father's house in Wimpole Street, a residential quarter of the well-to-do in nineteenth-century London—a London foggier then than it is now, although the country began where Regent's Park now is, and a path and a style at the top of Portland Place led direct to the green fields.

I

But foggy town and green fields were alike lost on Elizabeth, who was cut off from the world by grief and illness, and whose face was turned to the Valley of the Shadow. Physically she was weak, her reserves of strength undermined by a spinal complaint in girlhood, her lungs fragile, and her whole being weakened by the vicious circle of long captivity into a frailty that made it impossible for her to leave her room for weeks and even months together. And yet the root of her trouble was not physical, as the enduring miracle of her later life was to show.

Her heart was the source of Elizabeth Barrett's real life, as it is with nearly all women ; and her passionately affectionate heart was buried with a favourite brother, Edward, who had met his death by drowning some years before. She had lost her health early, and with the passing years she did not improve. But her gift for poetry gave her an occupation, and her love for Edward filled her life. Then came the black tragedy of his death by drowning off Torquay, where he had stayed to be near her at her express request. Elizabeth's universe was shattered from end to end, intolerable grief being added to grief by the thought that it was her desire for his company which had cost him his life. Sensitive heart and sensitive conscience went down into an abyss too terrible for tears.

Truly, a deeper and a darker sea engulfed Elizabeth than that which had closed over Edward. Her frail health broke further, and for months she lay between life and death, at long last recovering sufficiently to be moved by easy stages to London, to her father's grim house in foggy Wimpole Street, where she was to lie a prisoner for many years—hoping for the release of death. And release there was to be : not the dark escape she dreamed of, but a release like that miracle of the winter's ending when sun breaks up the ice on great rivers in the Spring.

Unlike our own day, when most of us agree with Bernard Shaw that " illness is a kind of sin ", in the nineteenth century illness was a kind of virtue. An invalid was regarded as an object of interest, and Elizabeth Barrett was hemmed in by the subtly poisonous atmosphere of her century,

which cast a spell over her imagination and held up all normal healing influences. Frail she certainly was, and always would have been, but the continuing physical ills, the devouring weakness, and the grief that would not heal, were certainly the result of captivity and bad air, undernourishment, and the hysterical suggestion that illness was romantic.

Further, over the house in Wimpole Street there brooded a strange influence : an influence which has needed the science of modern psychology to bring it out into the light of day. They were a typically numerous Victorian family, three sisters and seven brothers, and the mother was dead—leaving the father, with his violent passions and deflected affections, in full authority over them all. The blood of slave-driving West Indian ancestors was in his veins, and he exacted an unquestioning obedience from them all, tyrannising over son and daughter alike ; and owing to some obscure complex he would not hear of any one of them getting married and making a home of his or her own. His pride in his eldest daughter Elizabeth's intellectual achievements brought to bear on her his violent jealous affection, half-insane, which lay across her life, heavy as a tombstone and as difficult to lift. Apart from the flowering of her poetry, she was, to all intents and purposes, a dead woman. Her room was at the back of the house on the third floor, two-windowed, looking out on blank walls and chimneys.

In a letter she writes : " I come to Chaos and Silence ; and even to Old Night—it is growing so dark. I live in London and, except for the glory of it, I might live in a desert, so profound is my solitude and so complete my isolation. My windows do not even look into the street. I have had ivy planted in a box, and it has flourished and spread over one window and strikes against the glass when the wind blows ; then I think of forests and groves ; and it is not a sound like a lament."

To Chaos she had come indeed, to Silence and Old Night. From her heroic soul there would be wrung no bitter complaining, no sound of a lament. But for all her courage there is a profound melancholy in those pathetic words. The mournful voices of the wind, sounding past her windows, never spoke to her of liberty and space, never sang to her their legends of distant horizons and far-off lands. For all that they brought to her the music of the lost woodlands, they also echoed the ghostly sighing of her own stricken heart and its deep-seated longing for death.

But apart from her isolation of soul, she was not altogether alone. There were her numerous brothers and sisters, all gathered under that roof and all coming frequently to her secluded room to see her. And she had also for company a golden spaniel, Flush, literature's most celebrated dog. She was waited on by Wilson, her adoring maid. And there were visitors, too—kind Mrs. Kenyon, who looked like " a glorified Pickwick " ; and Miss Mitford, the gifted writer from Berkshire ; and

Mrs. Jameson, who would tell her about Italy, that halcyon land. And Elizabeth, gentle and courageous, would listen to them and sympathise with them, would talk and make jokes. But within her, her heart was stone-dead.

> " A stone upon my heart and head
> And no name written on the stone."

But her name *was* written on that stone ; and it was already a famous one.

II

Since her childhood in her father's Herefordshire garden she had written poetry, and she had published her poems in 1826 and again in 1833. Her education, unusual for a woman at that date, had made her a genuine Greek and Latin scholar : particularly the Greek of the early Fathers of the Church. Her great reputation as a poet was partly due to her deserved reputation as a scholar, because there has always existed a certain harmless snobbery in regard to real learning. But it is difficult for the intelligence of our century to understand her poetic fame at this date of her life. The greater part of her work is not to our taste at all. She was extremely sentimental and passionately religious, but she was no craftswoman. She was given to illogical thinking, bad rhymes, and half-controlled rhythms. Had she studied the earlier Greeks with the zeal she brought to the later, she might have exercised a colder and firmer control over the headlong rush of her feelings. As it is, she is the most feminine of the poets : unreasonable, intuitive, determined, delicate, personal. So personal that in some of her work, both the good and the bad, particularly the bad, you can almost catch the tone of her voice, so much is it Elizabeth Barrett speaking. But although she exercised such indifferent literary control over her feelings, those feelings were noble and delicate in the extreme. It is this quality of *herself* in her work which must have been the main factor in Robert Browning's love for her poetry. Before they had yet met he already loved her in her work. Her beautiful and arresting character shines out of all of it, and the unattractive poetry is the vehicle for a very attractive woman.

But although her poetry was painfully uneven, her reputation was established and secure. One reason for this reputation was her public, a poetry-reading public, still intensely aware of poetry and the poetic mood in an age during which imagination and feeling had not yet given place to a brilliant gift for mechanics—to the telephone, the car, the aeroplane. The telephone was not yet in existence, the railway was only just invented ; life still ran slowly and deeply, and the poetic mood was easily aroused and readily appreciated. Her public, eager to swallow any poetry, *would* swallow any poetry ; and Elizabeth Barrett, devoted to work for work's sake (as a noble character often is), gave them

plenty to swallow : narratives, songs, ballads, lyrics, aphorisms : a mass of work, the greater part of which gives no pleasure now and has not stood the test of time. A few fine sonnets stand out on a different level from the rest.

But the second reason for her reputation, namely the critics, is more significant. Why was her early work hailed at once by the experts? How did they know that here was a new voice, a yet uncertain voice perhaps, but one destined to great and permanent fame? They were unanimous in their praise, and I think the reason must have lain in that touch of *power* in her work which appears here and there like a sub-structure of stone amid the flowering mass of sentiment and singing, of angels and romantic ladies, of rosaries and swans and flowers and greenery, which festoon the solid stone temple of her intellect and imagination. One is irresistibly reminded of the great true holiness of Saint Theresa of Lisieux garlanded with the tinsel and paper roses of her time. Underneath was the real thing. And in Elizabeth Barrett's poetry the touch of power appears most strikingly in her sonnets, the form in which she was finally destined to achieve immortality. Granite and marble were in her poetic genius : the hard true stone of the spirit which does not yield to time. Her headlong spontaneous lyric gift, strangely feminine and untutored for all her learning, needed the strict foreign form of the sonnet to bring out the best of her gift. With its close-packed fourteen lines and severe exact rules of rhyming her inclination to diffuseness and overstatement were happily pruned and re-directed.

But there are one or two other poems outside the sonnet form which have the true force in them, too : a fine Christian poem on the old gods of Greece called " The Dead Pan " and a long original religious poem called " The Drama of Exile " on the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The Nature choruses in this are really lovely and faintly recall the powerful splendours of Shelley's " Prometheus Unbound ". The penalty of the well-read writer is that he or she may unconsciously echo a greater master, and Elizabeth Barrett prefaced " The Drama of Exile " with a scholarly essay exculpating herself from any imitation of Milton's mighty epic. She seems unaware of the echo from Shelley. There is a daemonic quality in Shelley : and a near-diabolic quality in Milton : but from these two terrifying inspirations the more Christian and truly gentle spirit of Elizabeth Barrett is wholly free.

But there are too many angels in her work. You are lucky if you can get through any poem of hers without a reference to them ; and with a certain section of her public her reputation had been made by a long religious poem called " The Seraphim". It is on a lofty theme ; but, as poetry, it is merely irritating to the modern mind. Of old, there was the great Hebrew conception of the angels, the mysterious Messengers of God. Elizabeth Barrett was profoundly attracted by the thought of

them; and though she was not always successful in expressing what evidently filled her imagination, the reader must be fair to her and her angels: for she was not always unsuccessful. There is a fine passage in a poem called "The Virgin Mary to the Child Jesus" which conveys a vivid sense of one, surrounded by angels, who sees them clearly with the eyes of imagination and faith.

In 1844 Elizabeth Barrett again collected and published her poems, most of them written from her remote eyrie in Wimpole Street—where, in the intervals of hard writing, she lay and listened to the wind and to the ghostly fingers of the ivy tapping at the windowpane. She writes in the preface: ". . . I have done my work, so far, as work: and as work I offer it to the public." On her own admission she did not wait for the sacred moments of inspiration, which is one explanation for so much uninspired work. But she had taken a noble refuge in her writing, using her gifts to the utmost to keep her spirit from sinking under its load. Her reward was real fame. But just ahead, round the dark corner of life and out of sight, lay a reward more marvellous than fame.

III

In the 1844 publication was a narrative poem, rather like a novel told in verse and somewhat in the style of Locksley Hall. (Fitzgerald said to Tennyson that year: "Do you know that a fair imitator of yours has appeared?") The poem was called "Lady Geraldine's Courtship", and there is little enough in it to appeal to even romantic twentieth-century taste; but the critics praised it and everybody read it. One verse ran:

> "Or at times a modern volume—Wordsworth's solemn-thoughted idyll
> Howitt's ballad verse, or Tennyson's enchanted reverie—
> Or from Browning some "Pomegranate," which, if cut deep down the middle,
> Shows a heart within, blood-tinctured, of a veined humanity."

Poetry like that leaves the modern reader positively reproachful. We feel: how *could* she write such stuff? But to the ardent romantic sentiments of the last century it made a direct appeal. And Robert Browning, sitting in his father's little country house out at Hatcham on the Surrey hills, read the poetess's generous lines about himself and felt his inmost soul awaken to an exquisite new sense of delight. In that first rapture of pleasure and gratitude he took pen and wrote to the poetess whose work he admired, but whom he had never seen.

Early in January 1845 the following letter arrived by post for Elizabeth: "I love your verses with all my heart, dear Miss Barrett—and this is no off-hand complimentary letter that I shall write—I can give a reason for my faith in one and another excellence: the fresh strange music, the

affluent language, the exquisite pathos, the true new brave thought; but in addressing myself to you—your own self, and for the first time, my feeling rises altogether. I do, as I say, love these books with all my heart,—and I love you, too." The last were but playful words for a conventional Victorian; but they were to prove prophetic. And prophetic, also, that the first words written from Robert Browning to Elizabeth Barrett were the two words "I love". He goes on to describe, in brilliant imagery, how he *nearly* met her once—and how he longs to meet her yet.

To Elizabeth, in her dark winter room, that first letter was like the earliest call of the thrush in Spring. Sudden and unexpected joy vibrated through her; and deep down, as in a dark and shuttered region, her heart stirred in its trance. Some vital current, long since stifled, began to move . . . "Such a letter from such a hand!" she wrote in return. "Sympathy is dear—very dear to me: but the sympathy of a poet, and of such a poet, is the quintessence of sympathy to me. Will you take back my gratitude for it?—agreeing, too, that of all the commerce done in the world, from Tyre to Carthage, the exchange of sympathy for gratitude is the most princely thing."

Such a poet: and who and what was this poet who signed himself Robert Browning? He was six years younger than she, and at this date his fame in no way equalled her own. His father was of old English stock, but from his mother's side he was crossed by strains of Scottish and Jewish blood. His was a profound soul, and a mind of many facets, brilliant, inquiring, courageous. His gift for poetry had developed early and his life had been harmonious in the extreme: happy, with his parents, with his one sister, and in his self-chosen career of poetry in which they supported him. His father was in easy circumstances and had an enormous library in which Robert had acquired very considerable knowledge and learning. He was never sent to a public school, that ordeal of the singular character and sensitive mind. His undeflected sense of Faith and Hope, and his robust belief in himself, were never ridiculed or kicked out of him. To his learning he added a more valuable quality: a lively appreciation of his fellow-beings and a searching knowledge of human nature. He had a genial affectionate character, and having won a certain recognition for himself by his publications he took to Society as a duck takes to the water. He made friends, dined out, went to parties, travelled twice to Italy and Germany, and generally enjoyed himself all round. But he did not fall in love.

At this time Browning had already published poetry which has since become part of the great English classics. Some singular poetry he had brought out in separate little volumes called "Bells and Pomegranates": a reference to the ritual garments of the Hebrew priests of old, whose tunics were embroidered with pomegranates alternated with little silver bells: the pomegranates for fruitfulness, the bells for joy.

Fruitful and joyous indeed were to be the results of that happy reference of Elizabeth Barrett's to the Poet of the Pomegranates whose deep humanity seemed to understand so well the human heart.

Amid the murderous clamour of our unhappy time there are few things in the literature of true escape more exquisite than the Browning love-letters and the marvellous story that unfolds in them, like the unfolding of an immortal rose. His first letters are full of restrained ardour, hers of shy but growing interest in this new poet whom she, among very few, knew to be a truly great man. Delicately prophetic, she had already placed him, in " answering halls of Fame ", among the recognised great names of their time. He, man-like, longs to meet her, and as the cold weeks pass the desire becomes a hope. Early in April he writes : " It is Spring—and the birds know it. And in the Spring I shall see you, surely see you—because when did I once fail to get whatever I had set my heart upon, as I ask myself sometimes with a strange fear ? "

But he had no need to fear. Faith and Hope were to carry him, as they carry all true believers, to the inmost Temple of Love.

IV

Through the mild winter Elizabeth's health was getting steadily better ; and at last, on May 20th, precious and immortal date for both of them, they met. When she wrote to him, endorsing the date he so eagerly suggested, some deep presentiment took hold of her, and the tears ran down her face : poor face, already ravaged with such rivers of sorrow : had she some inkling then of the tears of rapture she was so soon to shed ? As Browning went up that dark staircase to her room, he was already in love with the *idea* of her. When he came down again, and out into the daylight, he was in love with *her*—and for ever.

Elizabeth Barrett, a frail invalid, was filled with the humility which is often one of the outstanding marks of real genius, and she had no idea of her own charm. But charming she was : tiny in stature, slender in figure, with enormous dark eyes, and a shower of brown curls on each side of her face. Her atmosphere was one of shrinking humility, of exquisite purity and refinement, of ineffable pathos and love. Grief and suffering, nobly met and shouldered, had distilled a rare quality in her soul, which Browning, skilled in the reading of character, had already recognized from afar. It now needed but the sight of the charming face and the sound of the sweet voice to complete his overthrow.

And she, from her sofa, saw a short slight man, somewhat dark-skinned, with sensitive face and pitch-black hair, and blue-grey eyes of singular beauty : a man with deep voice and free gestures, and with humour and health and faith enough for two.

After that first meeting he began unwisely with a headlong love-letter : the only letter in that celebrated sequence which met with destruction.

She was taken by surprise—shocked—and sent the letter back to him with a gentle rebuke. But their friendship was resumed, and he came again. He came once a week : he came twice a week ; and in the intervals they wrote to each other. His letters were complex, obscure, difficult to read : but she did not find them difficult. If he had great faith, she had great understanding. One letter of his, a long one, is written almost in one paragraph, a jumble of allusions, parentheses, obscurities, subtleties : he ends cheerfully : " My head is all right now." But the reader's isn't !

Her letters are more lucid. In one she wrote him, in detail, the whole story of the Torquay tragedy, using the significant words : " I have not spoken this to any living soul since that day." For five crushing years that burden had lain upon her heart : it is no wonder that, after that letter had brought the first real outlet and relief to her soul, her physical health continued to get better and better. As the summer advanced she even began to go out for drives in the carriage.

As their intimacy grew, he re-affirmed his love : " I believe in you absolutely, utterly " . . . Then, referring to their first meeting : " Let me say now that I loved you from my soul and gave you my life, so much of it as you would take—and all that is *done*, not to be altered now."

Marvellous words for a " dead " woman to read ! But sacrificially, unselfishly, she hesitated to return the generous love which would bind him for life to an invalid. " Your life ! If you gave it to me and I put my whole heart into it, what could I put but anxiety and more sadness than you were born to ? What could I give you which it would not be ungenerous to give ? "

Her heart was still chained to her strange morbid tyrannical father, who hovered in the background, fiercely claiming her " duty " to him and at first quite unsuspecting the new glory that had come into her life. But fresh ideas were a-foot that summer in the Barrett household. Elizabeth's friends and brothers, supported by her doctor, started a plan for her to go to Italy for the winter : Mr. Barrett opposed the idea, causing one of the violent crises which attended all his dealings with his family. Finally he vetoed the plan ; and the clear-sighted Elizabeth, desperately hurt, saw that her father loved his own sense of authority better than he loved her. She wrote to Browning : " I do confess to a little ' savageness ' at heart ; " and Browning, most sensible and practical of men, saw in her new mood his first real opportunity to take her away forever from the house of death. He wrote her a definite offer of marriage, and from that moment her real surrender to him began.

The letters express a passionate lyric love between them. She writes : " . . . to receive such a proof of attachment from *you* not only overpowers every evil, but seems to me a full and abundant amends for the merely personal sufferings of my whole life." He answers in words that burn and shine on the page like inspired poetry : " Think for me, speak for

me, my dearest, my own." And she : " Instead of being to me a crowning happiness, you are happiness itself. From out the deep dark pits men see the stars more gloriously—and de profundis amavi."

They were like two nightingales, each out-singing the other in passionate music. Meanwhile, Mr. Barrett, no fancier of nightingales, was becoming by now thoroughly suspicious. His jealous thwarted temperament could not endure the thought of any of his children marrying. The question of marriage had already arisen over Elizabeth's sister Henrietta, and the whole project had been crushed amid a scene so violent that Henrietta was carried out in hysterics, and Elizabeth had fallen on the floor in a dead faint. Now, as Browning pressed Elizabeth to marry him and to come away to Italy, Elizabeth quailed and temporised, no longer deeply loving her father, but still fearing him. The lovers' plans hung fire as the months passed : it would have to be a secret marriage, as there was no hope of a reasonable paternal consent : " I should be thrown out of the window " said Elizabeth in terror. Browning, filled with apprehension, went home to Hatcham and, asking for a sign from Heaven, took out a book and opened it at random. His eyes fell on the solemn words : " I will love you to Eternity."

As the tension increased, Browning began to suffer from blinding headaches : " Let nothing horrible happen " he wrote frantically to Elizabeth, fearing one of his visits would be put off. But nothing horrible *did* happen—except that Mr. Barrett followed Browning upstairs one day, white with speechless fury, and poor Flush, overcome by such atmospherics, flew at Browning in a fit of jealousy and bit him in the leg. These were minor troubles indeed compared with having to endure the galling chain of secrecy, so foreign to the poet's unusually open and courageous nature. But the September day actually dawned when, after a sleepless night, Elizabeth accompanied by the faithful Wilson drove to Marylebone Church and became the wife of Robert Browning.

V

She returned to her " prison " for one week, while Browning made the last arrangements for their flight to Italy. According to the noble manners of the time, Browning could not bring himself to ask for her by a name no longer hers, and so the visits ceased. On the eve of their flight, Browning wrote: "God bless and strengthen you, my ever dearest, dearest. One struggle more—and if all the kindness on your part brought a strangely insufficient return, is it not possible that this step will produce all you can hope? Write to me one word more " : And her " one word " to him is more laden with authentic love than any phrase she had yet written to him : " Oh—if I loved you less—a little little less . . . "

On September 19, 1846, Elizabeth slipped out of the Wimpole Street

house with Wilson and Flush, her hand over Flush's mouth to prevent him from barking. She met her bridegroom at the bookseller's nearby, and together they drove to Vauxhall Bridge Station to catch the boat-train to Southampton : and so on into the sunshine and peace of Italy. Browning had led her out of the place of tombs into the light.

Supported by the healing power of a great love, she stood the journey surprisingly well. They stayed in Pisa for the first winter and there one morning she put into his hand a packet of manuscript and fled in shyness from the room. Browning opened the packet and, settling down to read, found them to be the great love sonnets, later to be published as " The Sonnets from the Portuguese". It was an immortal moment for him when he read, for the first time, the great lines which were to become world-famous and which he himself, not without foundation, ranked second only to Shakespeare's love-sonnets. They were her last writings in the dark captivity of Wimpole Street before the hand of love opened the prison door for her forever.

From Pisa they moved on to Florence, where they settled and where Elizabeth's health improved beyond recognition. And joy followed joy, for on 9 March 1849 she became the mother of a baby boy, a child like a cherub in an Italian painting. He grew and throve till she could hardly believe he was really her child : he seemed too strong to have sprung from such a frail root ! Browning showed himself to be as perfect a father as he was perfect lover and husband ; and as the child grew older, the three travelled to Siena and Rome, to Paris, and even back to London for a time, in a happy trinity of love. But she was never reconciled to her unforgiving father, in spite of her many efforts to make peace and to be forgiven. It was with relief that they left London for their beloved Italy again.

During these happy years she brought out three books of poetry. Her feet were on the earth now ; no longer did she gaze wistfully into the regions of the angels as in the days of her grief and captivity. Her poetry, after her marriage, shows a passionate interest in the politics of nineteenth-century Italy ; and occasionally her style echoes her husband's involved diction : a faint echo, which does not improve her verse, but does charm the reader's heart. She also wrote a novel in verse, " Aurora Leigh ", and lastly, just before her death, her most beautiful and celebrated lyric :—

> " What is he doing, the great god Pan,
> Down in the reeds by the river ? "

This was her swan-song, written in June 1861 ; by then her frail health was failing fast. At the end of June she died in her husband's arms in Casa Guidi, the house in Florence where had been spent the most blessed hours of their fifteen years of happiness.

ELIZABETH BELLOC

ARCHBISHOP MALACHY O'QUAELLY

VICAR APOSTOLIC OF KILLALOE 1620–1630: ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM 1630–1645

BY DERMOT F. GLEESON, M.A., D.LITT.

WE have as yet no extended history of the Church in Ireland in the period which intervened between the death of Elizabeth in 1603 and the Cromwellian period half a century later. It is indeed a vital one; for, if it had not been for the magnificent work in the re-organisation of Church life and the restoration of discipline which took place within it, the whole bastion of the Catholic faith in Ireland might have been irretrievably lost in the years that followed. When the Reformation came to Ireland in the middle of the 16th century under the strong government of the Elizabethan Deputies, organisation and discipline were already seriously impaired. The evils of pluralities, nepotism, and lay patronage in the previous century had brought things to a serious pass amongst the secular clergy and even amongst the hierarchy. When the storm grew violent under Elizabeth, many Sees were left vacant while in many others the Bishops were abroad. The great Irish Colleges on the continent were only coming into being, the supply of secular clergy was limited and the clergy themselves were badly prepared. With the constant changing of position under the Tudor Sovereigns, many of them indeed hardly knew where they stood. In Killaloe, for example, the first to accept a royal provision as Bishop was an O'Dea, Chaplain to the Earl of Thomond. The next was Moriertagh Mac Ui Briain Aradh, chief of his name. That these had not set their roots very firmly in the new order may be gathered from the fact that—like the progeny of Miler Magrath—the eldest son of Bishop Mac Ui Briain, Sir Tirlagh Mac Ui Briain, was a practising Catholic and according to the State Papers was ' buried in a friars habit in a superstitious island in the Shannon ' (Iniscaltra), where his tomb and that of his wife, the daughter of the great Catholic 11th Earl of Ormond, may still be seen. In the main the Catholic faith was maintained and the Catholic religion was served by great figures like Archbishop Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel, with the assistance of the ' poor fryers beggars ' and a trickle of Jesuits who began to come over from the Continent in the later years of the 16th century. Discipline was poor, and there were even men going around with forged Bulls and faculties.

When James I came to the throne, it was generally thought in Ireland that the Catholic religion would be restored as in the time of Mary. This hope proved to be illusory, but there was little active persecution of Catholicism for some time, and what there was was spasmodic and local. In Killaloe the first active and competent Protestant Bishop was Dr.

John Rider, an Englishman of much accomplishment and great literary ability. In his first report of the state of his diocese made in 1615, he found things in a deplorable condition. Most of the churches were roofless, there were no congregations, the cures were not served, and all the mensal lands had been leased out by Bishop Mac Ui Briain to ' recusants ' amongst his relations. Dr. Rider's clergy list of this year is of much interest, for it contains the names of numerous clergy from the Irish families of the diocese. It seems clear that many if not all of these were retained in their benefices under Mac Ui Briain while still serving their old faith. Indeed of some of them Dr. Rider notes that they were ' revolted to Popery'. Everyone of them had gone from the clergy list which Dr. Rider returns seven years later in 1622, and this list is composed almost exclusively of English names, whose owners had apparently only just come to Ireland.

On the Catholic side Dr. Cornelius Ryan, a Franciscan, had been Bishop up to 1616. Almost all of his episcopate was spent abroad, and a great part of it was given to the organisation of the Spanish expeditions to Ireland in Elizabeth's reign. He died in Compostella in 1616. At home a Clareman, Mahon Magrath, was Vicar General at least up to 1615 when, Dr. Rider tells us, he was providing parish priests and dispensing in banns. In 1620 however, in response to many appeals to Rome, a new light was given to Killaloe and to the whole Irish Church. In that year Malachy O'Quaelly was provided to Killaloe as Vicar Apostolic. The date and place of his birth are tantalisingly obscure. Archdeacon Lynch of Tuam, where he was later to be Archbishop, in his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* states categorically that he was born in Corcomroe ' a barony of Thomond'. This from a contemporary might be taken as conclusive if we had not a whole body of evidence that he was a native of the diocese of Killaloe. Actually Corcomroe is in the old diocese of Kilfenora and is not in Thomond. It may be that the Archdeacon wrote Corcomroe for Corcu Baiscinn in south-west Clare, which seems to be the most probable place of Malachy's birth. A close examination of all the available evidence suggests that he was born in the neighbourhood of Tullycrine, some eight miles north of Kilrush, about the year 1580. His father's name was Donough and—by his own account—he was a cousin of Cormac O'Hickey, his Archdeacon in Killaloe, and of Cormac's brother Anthony the famous Franciscan. He also tells us himself that, to refute a suggestion from a rival that he was born out of wedlock, he sent to Paris and to Rome, before his provision to Killaloe, full proofs of his birth and parentage. If these are ever discovered in the Roman archives, the problem of his native place will be finally solved.

At an early age Malachy O'Quaelly went to the Sorbonne in Paris, registering as a " student of the diocese of Killaloe ". His academic career was quite exceptional, as the testimonials postulating his provision to Killaloe bear abundant testimony. He studied for example both philosophy

and medicine and attained to a Doctorate in both these sciences. Even after his appointment as Vicar Apostolic of Killaloe he proceeded with his studies at the Royal College of Navarre and took his degree in medicine and anatomy at Paris as late as 1627. But it is clear that he came to Ireland and spent some considerable time there immediately after 1620. As has been indicated, he must have found his Vicariate a troublesome heritage. There were, however, powerful aids to his hand in the more settled conditions prevailing and in the stream of zealous and well-instructed priests just then beginning to come over from the great Irish colleges on the Continent. He had also the powerful aid which his intimate acquaintance with the heads of the great Orders made available to him.

O'Quaelly must have laboured with immediate and remarkable results; for, when he was back again in Paris in 1626, a whole stream of postulations poured over from Ireland to Rome asking that he be promoted to the Bishopric of Killaloe. His cousin and Archdeacon, Cormac O'Hickey, wrote to Father Anthony Hickey at St. Isidore's: " I will not cease until I obtain my desire, that is concerning Malachias, the one person who renovated and transformed our poor barbarous obstinate land and brought it to the light which it had not hitherto during my time. Wherefore we (the clergy and laity) observe your diligence and your earnest endeavour, so far as lies in you and yours, to promote him to be master in the diocese of Killaloe. For they have loved him as a father and also as a counsellor over everyone else; because everything he teaches, his life and acts are in accordance therewith. I could not, my brother, enumerate his benefits to his district and likewise to the surrounding province." The fact that Cormac was his cousin and that Dr. O'Quaelly was himself a Franciscan Tertiary, might be deemed to have coloured this remarkable tribute if it stood alone. It was, however, only one voice in a chorus. In 1624 the Commissary General, the Provincial, and the two Definitors of the Irish Franciscans had sent their recommendation from Wexford " of Malachy O'Quaelly S.T.D. of Paris and formerly Professor of Philosophy of that University, now Vicar Apostolic of Killaloe and Protonotary Apostolic in the Kingdom of Ireland, to be Bishop of Killaloe". A month later they were joined by a testimony from Fathers Bernard Kearney and John Shee of the Jesuits. On almost the same date the Primate, Dr. Peter Lombard, forwarded his own postulation to Cardinal Verallo, Protector of Ireland, joined to that of " the nobility and principal gentry of the diocese of Killaloe". This latter was signed by the Baron of Inchiquin Teige O'Brien, son of the Earl of Thomond, and by his brother Daniel, as well as by the other O'Briens and MacNamaras and by Boethius Clanchy of the Brehon family. There followed in the same month the ' unanimous election ' and petition of the Chapter of Killaloe for his appointment signed by the diocesan dignitaries. In 1626 Archbishop Walsh of Cashel attested his fitness for episcopal office to the Sacred Congregation, and in

October of the same year the Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragans recommended him for preferment. This is signed as well by the Bishops of Ossory, Meath, Cork and Cloyne, Limerick, Emly, Elphin, Down and Connor, and Kilmore. A further petition from the ' procerii, magnates, et primarii nobiles ' of Killaloe to Cardinal Ludovisi followed. In the following year Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, wrote to Luke Wadding at St. Isidore's with recommendations for several vacant bishoprics, adding : " Of these nominations of Bishops in my province I would have nothing done or said until we know what will be for the best, save only that if Malachy O'Quaelly may be put in Killaloe, from which he may emerge as Primate, I will be glad of it, for my Lord of Tuam [Dr. Florence Conroy] so desired it and has mooted the matter with me." There came also a recommendation from the Irish Dominican Provincial and a Certificate from Paris University signed by six Doctors of Medicine and another from the Royal College of Navarre as well as letters commendatory from the Primate of France.

Nothing was done by Rome at this time and Dr. O'Quaelly returned to Killaloe about 1627. Some opposition seems to have been organised in Rome in favour of Dr. John O'Moloney. The Vicar Apostolic remained in his diocese visiting and preaching, as we know from his own letters to St. Isidore's written mostly under the pseudonym of ' Richard Rice'. He wrote curiously enough in English, of which it is apparent that he had but a limited command, instead of in Irish or in Latin. Finally in 1630 in the month of June he writes to Luke Wadding saying amongst other things : ' The last storm is almost past ; I fear me nothing will undoe us but our own altercations and want of unanimittie and charitable correspondence amongst ourselves.' He mentions also the death of Archbishop Conroy of Tuam and adds prophetically : ' May God grant him a good successor.' His prayer was promptly granted, for in a few months he himself was appointed to Tuam, Dr. O'Moloney succeeding him in Killaloe.

Dr. O'Quaelly was consecrated at Galway on 10 October 1630 by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Limerick and Elphin in a private chapel. His consecration was preceded by a strange incident. It was found that the Brief of appointment was only a draft and not the original Brief, which had been retained in error in Rome. The assembled prelates were about to depart when a ship sailed into the bay with the original Letters.

For fifteen years Dr. Malachy O'Quaelly was Archbishop of the See of St. Jarlath. In those years he confirmed the promise he had so abundantly shown while he was in Killaloe. His episcopate was not an untroubled one even in the beginning. He had difficulties with the Warden of Galway, which had an echo over two hundred years later when the jurisdiction attaching to that ancient office was finally abolished. He had some trouble

in the early days with some of his clergy, as might well be expected, not only from what had gone before, but because he was not a native of the diocese. He had to complain also that the Dominicans had taken over some of his parishes. But in a few years he had resolved all these problems and had travelled from end to end of the province—even to the remote islands off the western coast, some of which had not seen a Bishop for a century. He found time to delve into ancient history and communicate the results to his friend Luke Wadding. In the circumstances of the time there was little he could do in the re-building of churches or the establishment of schools. What he could do, he did. There still survive to us four remarkably beautiful chalices which he caused to be made during his occupancy of the See of Tuam. One of these is believed to have been his own episcopal chalice; it was taken to Spain after the Cromwellian conquest and came to the hands of a Galway man there, Henry Lynch, who had a new inscription put on it and presented it to the parish of Burriscarra. It is now in Carnacon Catholic Church, Co. Mayo. The second was presented in 1640 by Dr. O'Quaelly to the Franciscans of Rosserily in his archdiocese. It also has survived the vicissitudes of the years and is now in the Franciscan Convent at Merchants Quay, Dublin. The third he presented to the Augustinians of Ballinrobe in 1642. It is now at Stonyhurst College, to which it was presented by Miss Bodkin in modern times. The fourth and the most beautiful was presented by the Archbishop to his great friend Father Teige Connell, Prior of the Augustinians of Dunmore, Co. Galway in 1641. It was found in a Dublin shop in 1879 by the (Augustinian) Bishop of Sandhurst, Dr. Reville, and was by him given to the Priory of Hoxton in London. It was transferred to Ballyhaunis Priory in 1938. All four are described and illustrated by the late Mr. Buckley in his most interesting and valuable account of historic Irish Church Plate.

It is only by piecing together tiny fragments and comments from his contemporaries that we can form any picture of the more intimate part of Dr. O'Quaelly's life. We are told that he was a most eloquent preacher—as indeed one would expect from one of his intellectual attainments. In later years he grew very corpulent and suffered from dropsy. There is an amusing but edifying story of him at the sittings of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Here he was the outstanding figure by all contemporary accounts. The debates were however presided over by the local Ordinary, the Bishop of Ossory, who was the well-known and erudite Dr. Ro he. On one occasion the Archbishop of Tuam was late, and it was thought that he had overslept. When he appeared, he was taken to task by Dr. Rothe for his unpunctuality—somewhat, it would appear, to the amazement of the assembly. Far from being offended, however, the Archbishop most humbly apologized and promised to amend. He was however again late on the following morning and again made the most humble amends.

When the rebellion of 1641 broke out over all the country, the Archbishop found himself cast for a role which must have been far from his mind when he accepted his provision to Tuam. Such was his standing in Ireland that he became willy-nilly the foremost non-military leader in the whole nation. So much is quite clear from the *Commentarius* of Archbishop Rinuccini. Indeed Pope Innocent X, when sending over Rinucinni as Papal Nuncio, had specifically told him to make the Archbishop of Tuam his chief adviser. Actually they never met; for, as things happened, Dr. O'Quaelly had left Kilkenny shortly before the Nuncio arrived there. The Supreme Council had appointed him President of Connaught and so invested him with a military as well as an ecclesiastical primacy in that province. So it came about that in 1645, just outside Ballisodare and between it and Sligo, the great Archbishop came to fulfil an ancient prophecy that a successor of St. Jarlath would meet a violent end. Here the Irish forces under his command had put a force of Scotch Covenanters to flight. But the Scotch returned in the night under Coote and surprised the Irish camp, which was carelessly guarded. The Archbishop was overtaken and slain and with him fell his great friend Father Teige Connell, whom we have already met as Prior at Dunmore, and another Augustinian Father Higgins. Father Connell fell defending the helpless Archbishop 'like a lion'. The bodies of the Archbishop and his friends, we are told, were cut to pieces by the furious Covenanters. The account sent to Rome by the Augustinians states that the Archbishop was slain in the act of giving absolution to Father Connell. On his dead body was found a copy of the treaty made by the Confederation with the King and, this being sent to England, it caused a sensation amongst the Covenanters.

The head of the Archbishop was cut off; but it and his body were embalmed by his physician, Dr. Nicholson, and removed to Tuam where he was buried amidst the tears of a vast congregation. Later his remains, to save them during the Cromwellian occupation, were removed; but where they are buried is not known. And so it comes about that there is no stone or memorial now left to mark his last resting-place. His death was everywhere regarded as a great disaster to the Irish cause. Archbishop Rinucinni described him as a 'vir magnificus' and his death as an 'irreparable loss to the whole nation'.

Archbishop O'Quaelly was above all things the Good Shepherd of his people. More than any man of his time he brought the Catholic Church in Ireland from the darkness of the 16th century into the glory of the 18th. He had noble companions and noble successors in men like Blessed Oliver Plunkett and Archbishop Brennan of Cashel. Wherever he laid his hand, the Church grew in strength and the Gates of Hell did not prevail. After his time there was toil and death and persecution in Ireland—but there was no longer weakness from within.

DERMOT F. GLEESON

COUNSELLOR TERENCE MACDONAGH

BY J. C. MACDONAGH

Part II.—Some Collateral Descendants

A document discovered some time ago by Marcus MacEnery, author of *High Hollow Townlands*, reads as follows: "Indenture dated 6 August 1763 between Mary Taaffe oise Garvey, widow, of Carrowreagh, Martin Lynch of Drimcong and Edward Costello of Dublin and William Phibbs of Rathmullen . . . . whereas Terence MacDonagh, by indenture dated 28 February 1698, mortgaged to Theobald Viscount Taaffe the townlands of Drumbane . . . .and whereas the said Terence MacDonagh departed this life in May 1713, leaving Margaret Garvey oise MacDonagh, his surviving sister, and Denis O'Rorke and Remegius O'Hara, his nephews, being the sons and heirs-at-law of his other two sisters." Students of the eighteenth-century system of land tenure will remember the manner in which Catholics were allowed to inherit land; the land of Terence MacDonagh is one of its examples, for by the time three generations of heirs in gavelkind had passed, there were collateral descendants of Terence MacDonagh who were owners of one-twenty-fourth part of his still undivided estates. This state of affairs lasted till about the year 1853, when the Encumbered Estates Courts wiped out many of the squires and squireens who battened on the undivided shares and helped to drain the last penny from an unfortunate tenantry.

I

Terence MacDonagh's sister, Mrs. Margaret Garvey, was the mother of Henry and Maria Garvey of Ballygarvey, County Mayo. Maria, on her bachelor brother's death, became one of the richest heiresses in North Connacht and was soon wooed and won by a young squire named James Taaffe. Taaffe's mother was Eleanor MacDermot, a daughter of Cormack MacDermot of Maghlurg whose elaborate tombstone (bearing the MacDermot coat-of-arms) may still be seen in Ardcarne graveyard between Boyle and Carrick-on-Shannon. The family of James Taaffe and Maria Garvey soon spread over the counties of Mayo and Roscommon; and even to-day some of the old Georgian houses built for them still nestle snugly in what remains of their once well-planted and picturesque demesne lands of Brooklawn, Killedan and Woodfield. They were, in their day, amongst the most powerful and widely connected of the landed gentry and Catholic squireens of North Connacht. Frank Taaffe of Killedan and his family are now immortalised in the Raftery poems collected by Dr. Douglas Hyde. James Taaffe and Maria Garvey were also the great-grandparents of a famous young Liberal of the early nineteenth century,

John Patrick Sommers, duellist and Member of Parliament for the Borough of Sligo.

Most of Maria Garvey's descendants remained steadfast to the old Faith although her husband was the son of a 1723 pervert, Christopher Taaffe of Ballinaglough, who conformed in order to hold his own property and to enrich himself with the lands of his Catholic relations and neighbours. The rest of Christopher Taaffe's sons married into Planter families and, with the curse of hunted priests on their heads, soon faded from Connacht for want of male heirs.

One of the last members of the Taaffe family, to hold part of Terence MacDonagh's estates and Garvey property in County Mayo, made a generous provision in his Will for the erection of a Catholic church on any part of his lands in County Mayo. His executors decided that the town of Ballyhaunis deserved this edifice, and they proceeded to make arrangements for its erection there. Ballyhaunis, unfortunately, was situated on the borders of two parishes and each claimed that the church should be theirs. Open warfare broke out between these two parishes ; and as neither would relax its claim, the executors were forced to withdraw their proposals and fixed on the little village of Bohola, many miles away, as a site. The result was the beautiful little edifice which now adorns that place, and so the archdiocese of Tuam lost what the diocese of Achonry gained.

There is an interesting anecdote told of the beautiful window over the High Altar in this church. It appears that Taaffe stipulated in his Will that one of the centre panels in the stained glass window should contain a likeness of Sir William Taaffe, who first laid the foundations of the Taaffe fortunes in Connacht by settling his impecunious cousins from Balbriggan on the ancient church lands of Ballinaglough in County Sligo. This request was carried out in the artist's studio, and the result was the amazing spectacle of an Elizabethan knight, with his ruffles and Van Dyke beard, inset in a scene from the life of Our Lord. The window was duly set into its place in the church, but the work of doing so was hardly finished before a breeze of wind sent the panel containing Taaffe's likeness crashing to the floor of the church. A similar inset was then rushed from the studios, and it was no more than in its lead casement when " a gentle puff of wind " smashed it to smithereens. The artist then substituted a religious emblem for Taaffe's likeness and, like the rest of the window, it has survived many a rough gale which beat against it across the valley of the Moy.

II

We now come to the two other co-heirs of " the great Counsellor "—namely, the sons of those sisters who had predeceased him. These were Remigius O'Hara of Curry and Denis O'Rorke of Chaffpool, near

the town of Tubbercurry. O'Hara was succeeded in his third share by his two daughters, who thus became entitled to a sixth of the property. The older of the two, Conly, became the wife of Brian MacDonagh of Carricknagrip in the parish of Kilmactranny; while the younger, Margaret, was then the wife of Phelim O'Conor Sligo and lived at Drumbane. O'Hara was a typical squireen of his day, and as late as the year 1753 his grandchildren were still paying for his improvidence and hospitality. In that year the four sons of Conly O'Hara and Brian MacDonagh joined with Mary, wife of Terence O'Neill of Shancough (the only child of Margaret O'Hara and Phelim O'Conor) and, as O'Hara's heirs in gavelkind, gave a mortgage of their share of the property to the "gombeen barrister Nimble Ned Costello and his wife, the daughter of the apostate Lord Athenry." In return Costello gave them an advance of £1,000 to complete the payment of their grandfather's debts. Mary O'Neill, mentioned in this mortgage, was married twice: by her first husband she was the mother of Miss Jane O'Neill of Ballincurry and by her second husband she was the mother of Roger O'Hara of Curry. The sons of Brian MacDonagh and Conly O'Hara were John who died unmarried; Augustine who was the grandfather of the last MacDonaghs of Coolmeen; and William of Knockatotane (near Coolaney) and Patrick MacDonagh of Drumbane, both of whom left numerous descendants.

The Counsellor's third co-heir, Denis O'Rorke of Chaffpool, had two sons, Hugh and Brian. Hugh O'Rorke conformed to the Established Church and thereby excluded his brother from succession in gavelkind. When the Counsellor's widow went to live with the O'Conors, Hugh took possession of the Counsellor's home at Creevagh. He is openly described as an Irish Protestant in the Religious Census of 1749 although he reared his family as Catholics, and it was not until they were full grown men that two of his sons secretly conformed in Dublin.

In the year 1765 William MacDonagh of Knockatotane and his cousin Mary O'Conor, then a widow for the second time, leased their share of the townland of Curoy to Hugh O'Rorke and his sons. By that year the relationship between the first two parties to the deed and the older O'Rorke was that of second cousins once removed, which in turn left Mary O'Conor's children, Jane O'Neill and Roger O'Hara, full third cousins of Hugh Roe and Hyacinth, the sons of Hugh O'Rorke of Creevagh. Trouble arose between these distant cousins over their shares of the estate and the abuse of the collection of its rents. At this distant date we have been unable to identify the motives which prompted Hyacinth O'Rorke's secret conformity to the Established Church in Dublin on the 12 November 1767; for he did not gain from it, like his brother Hugh Roe O'Rorke, a Justiceship of the Peace—then a lucrative honour without official emoluments. We happen to know, however, that he showed his enmity for his distant counsins, Jane O'Neill and her half-brother

Roger O'Hara, by threatening to become " the first Protestant Discoverer " on the death of their mother, Mary O'Conor. This moved Roger O'Hara to defend his own and his half-sister's inheritance by beating O'Rorke at his own game, for Roger O'Hara himself conformed on the 26 March 1779.

Baulked by this counter-move, O'Rorke, popular bully and noted duellist of his day, then proceeded to avenge himself at the first opportunity on O'Hara's half-sister. It appears that Jane O'Neill, unlike most of her class, was not adverse to earning her livelihood in trade ; she kept a sort of emporium at Ballincurry not far from where Centy O Rorke (as the duellist was affectionately called) lived after his second marriage. O Rorke and his wife were very deep in Miss O'Neill's ledgers and apparently wanted to go still deeper. Hints about payment or reduction of this debt remained unheeded, until Jane O Neill sent them " a latitat " that no further credit would be given until the old debt was discharged. This drove O'Rorke into " one of his tantrums," and he rushed in his rage to Jane O'Neill's shop and gave her an unmerciful horse-whipping " for daring to insult an O Rorke ". This bully, whose whip and pistol were the terror of a countryside, however met his match in his spirited kinswoman. Undaunted by the refusal of the local magistrates to issue a warrant for assault, she eventually made her way to Templehouse where Philip Caech Percival heard her complaint and, with a courage excited by sympathy, issued a summons for assault and had it served on O'Rorke.

O'Rorke and his faction, which included squires like the Joneses of Banada Abbey, fire-eating attorneys like Daniel Feely and Bob Weir of Castlebaldwin, and most of the local squireens, set out to make an example of Percival. Their chance came during the following assizes in the town of Sligo : as Percival and his fellow grandjurors left the Court House, O'Rorke and his friends met them on the steps outside. As Percival came towards them, O'Rorke left his friends and swaggered up to him. Both paused and glared at each other, and in the twinkling of an eye O'Rorke contemptuously flicked his riding-whip across Percival's shoulders. A scuffle followed and a challenge was issued. Percival turned to his friend, John Gethin of Ballymote, and nominated him as his second. A meeting was then settled for Achonry a few days later, and the followers of both parties hurried off to their glee-clubs, their carousals and their cockfights. Philip Percival had an exciting time for the next few days. He had already committed himself in a wager in matching his gamecocks against the finest batch in Connacht, and this was barely finished when he had to rush back to Templehouse to prepare for his duel.

The *Freeman's Journal* of the 7 September 1779 gives us the approximate date of the O'Rorke—Percival duel : " We hear from Sligo that a

duel was fought between J—— C——r Esq. and C. O'H—— Esq.[1] when after discharging a case of pistols each they were happily prevented from proceeding further by the interposition of the Seconds. From the same place we also hear of another duel being fought between P—— P—— Esq. and H——th O'R—— Esq. in which the latter was shot dead on the spot." When Philip Caech Percival arrived at the rendezvous fixed for this duel, he found a countryside of O'Rorke followers assembled. " It is murder you want, not a fair fight," exclaimed Percival as he surveyed the mob. This remark so infuriated Centy O'Rorke that he drew his pistol and, " with a mighty oath, he swore that he'd blow out the brains of anyone except the seconds who'd follow them to Liscat ". This was a well-known rath a few miles away, to which the principals and their seconds were soon galloping their horses furiously. The mob, mounted and unmounted, hastened slowly after them.

John Gethin of Ballymote was Percival's second at Liscat, but tradition varies in the name of O'Rorke's second. Some claim that he was one of the Nicholsons of Primrose Grange ; others that he was Attorney Weir, while more say that he was one of the Joneses of Banada. On arriving at Liscat, fourteen paces were measured from east to west and O'Rorke, as the challenged party, took his place with his back to the rising sun. Percival, whose soubriquet was " Caech " (purblind), then complained of this disadvantage coupled with his weak sight. His remarks were barely uttered before the impetuous Centy offered to change places—an offer which was speedily accepted by his opponent. The word was given and O'Rorke, as was usual with him, was the first to fire. His bullet missed its mark and now its marksman stood at Percival's mercy.

" Beg your life, Sir," commanded Percival.

" Fire away, you blind rascal," was O'Rorke's reply.

Percival, slowly and deliberately, raised his pistol and, as he did, O Rorke pointed to his heart and yelled defiantly and contemptuously : " Send it here, you coward ! " He had hardly uttered the last word when the ball from Percival's pistol entered his forehead.

Some say that Percival meant to fire over O'Rorke's head and that the shot killed O'Rorke while carrying out a ruse which had often thrown former opponents off their aim. This was by hopping a foot or so off the ground at the very moment that his antagonist was about to pull the " pistol tricker."

O'Rorke's brother, Hugh Roe, who was amongst the persons warned not to follow him, was by this time only a short distance from the beautiful

[1] These were Joshua Cooper and Charles O'Hara, both of whom represented County Sligo in the Irish Parliament at the time of the Union. Cooper, who was a direct ancestor of the late Major Brian Cooper, was the joint Member for the County in this year, his colleague being Owen Wynne of Hazelwood. Charles O'Hara was then attempting to break a faction which held both town and county as a closed borough for ever a century. He was a direct ancestor of Major C. K. O'Hara of Annaghmore and later voted against the Union in 1801.

three-ringed rath of Liscat, when he heard the shots, followed by a prolonged silence. " Centy is down," " Centy is down," he exclaimed. " Centy fired first, as always ; and the silence tells me that the second shot killed him."

By now the crowd of O'Rorke's followers had arrived on the scene and the women amongst them, seeing the favourite (who with all his faults and failings was one of the " ould stock ") down, soon raised a keening which was heard miles away through the clear morning air. Percival's son, the Rector of Killoran, had just been told of the duel and was riding all-out to Liscat in an effort to prevent it. He, too, heard " the wild Irish cry " when still some miles from Liscat and from it knew that his father was safe. He turned his horse and slowly retraced his way to Templehouse to be greeted by his father and John Gethin, who had had to ride for their lives when an angry section of O'Rorke's followers attempted to kill them on Liscat.

A fierce controversy was waged over this duel amongst the fire-eaters of Connacht for many years afterwards : some blamed the seconds for permitting the change of places ; others cursed them for standing placidly by " while a principal was deliberately shot down ". Even the local bards entered the fray, and lamentations for O'Rorke were heard long afterwards, while Philip Caech Percival had his praises sung in a fine old Gaelic song, a favourite at every gathering in this Anglo-Irish aristocrat's home where Irish was then spoken and understood.

A cairn was raised on the exact spot where Centy O'Rorke fell, and the pilgrimages made by his affectionate followers for many years afterwards increased its dimensions by many cubic feet. It is still a landmark, though Centy is long forgotten by many of their descendants. His body was taken to Banada and buried there after a " waking " of three nights in Ballincurry. Some nights later the O'Rorke clansmen and tenants in the Barony of Tirerrill opened O'Rorke's grave and brought his body to the graveyard at Kilmactranny some thirty miles away. There he rests within the shadows of the Breifny mountains of his chieftain ancestors from whom he inherited the arrogant pride (and foolishness) of the O'Rorkes, " the proudest and most inflexible of all the Irish race ".

Although Hyacinth O'Rorke was twice married, his only legal descendant was his daughter Mary. In his Will, however, he made generous provision for his natural son, Frank O'Rorke, whom in true Milesian spirit he always claimed and treated with paternal care and affection.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of 28 January 1790 carries the following obituary notice : " Death at Creevagh County Sligo, aged 34 years, of Hugh O'Rorke Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, a gentleman much esteemed and well respected as well for the urbanity of his manners as the friendly disposition of his mind." This announcement records the death of Centy O'Rorke's brother, Hugh

Roe. Like his father and brother, Hugh Roe O'Rorke conformed to the Established Church and was rewarded for doing so by being made a Justice of the Peace. He, too, reared his children in the old Faith and all his life retained a leaning towards it. His Will reveals that he tried to make some restitution to his uncle and cousin, Brian and Denis O'Rorke, who were deprived of their inheritance through the Penal Laws which made Hugh Roe and his father sole owners of one-third of Terence MacDonagh's lands. Like Centy, Hugh Roe O'Rorke also had a natural son whom he remembered in his Will, but the bulk of his fortune went to his oldest son, named Hyacinth, who lived at Carrigeenboy, near Ballyfarnon, and died a very wealthy man. His heiress, in turn, was Miss Arabella O'Rorke who became the wife of Dr. Charles MacDermot of Coolavin and the mother of Hugh Hyacinth O'Rorke MacDermot, *Prince of Coolavin*, the Victorian Attorney-General for Ireland.

III

The last resident part-owners of Counsellor MacDonagh's estates were three elderly spinsters, Annie, Mary and Elizabeth, grandaughters of Augustine MacDonagh of Carricknagrip and daughters of Terence MacDonagh (*circa* 1765-1809) and his wife Jane MacDermot. These old ladies lived at Coolmeen, a large eighteenth-century two-storey thatched house, which with its old-world gardens, its plantations, and its avenues, has totally disappeared in the rehabilitation schemes for the tenant farmers. Even the place-name, Coolmeen, is now no longer used, for the older name of the townland has been restored and none but a diminishing few can even lead one to the site of Coolmeen House and gardens.

The Misses MacDonagh were a kindly trio who lived in genteel poverty on a meagre rental which, even in prosperous years, rarely exceeded a couple of hundred pounds. It is doubtful if Annie MacDonagh (who managed the estate from 1825 to 1879) ever made a full collection of the rents, for cholera, destitution and famine were then endemic in that part of Connacht.

From the scraps of tradition and a few family papers still preserved, the charity of these old ladies can still be assessed. In these papers we have references to the seamstresses employed at Coolmeen House to clothe the needy widow or orphan, the child for its First Communion, the maid for her marriage, or the dying for the last Rites of the Church. Here, in this backward part of Connacht, life and all that it meant to woman passed these gentlewomen by, for they were too genteel to wed rustics of their own creed and refused many offers of marriage from local squireens when the question of religion arose.

Terence MacDonagh, their father, died when the family were quite young. Their older brother, Brian, left home early in life and went " abroad to make his fortune," while John (the youngest of the family)

went to Dublin to be a doctor and thence to London to found a lucrative practice and raise a large family. The girls of the family remained at Coolmeen, with itinerant masters of Belles Lettres, of music and of dancing retained there, from time to time, for their education.

In the year 1863 Brian MacDonagh broke the entail on the property by off-setting a legacy due to Annie MacDonagh and his other sisters from their cousin, Ignatius MacDonagh of the 11th Dragoons, against a mortgage on the property given by Brian to his uncle. Under this deed Annie MacDonagh and her sisters became the sole owners of Coolmeen and the rest of the property. From thence onwards the old ladies, like most of their tenantry, sank deeper into poverty; for they were free to deal with the scanty rental in whatever manner they wished. No sooner had old Pat Reilly returned from his collection on gale days than hordes of poverty-stricken men, women and children flocked to Coolmeen and soon left the old ladies "as poor as themselves". These unfortunate people were not professional beggars. Many of them had seen better days and were now fast fading from the land in emigrant ships or, if too old to go abroad, were dying in the workhouses. Quite a few visitors to Coolmeen were the offspring of Catholic bucks and squireens of the eighteenth century who were now suffering for the improvidence of their fathers and grandfathers. Here is a letter written by Annie MacDonagh to a gombeenman when she found that "one of the ould stock," the last of a senior branch of the O'Conor Sligo family, was destitute.

Coolmeen 23 March 1876

Dear Sir

I will feel greatly obligd by yr having the kindness to give Miss O'Conor of Roadstown £5 on my account and shall pay interest for it.

Yr Obdt servt.
Annie MacDonagh

Her oldest and bachelor brother, Brian, died on the 3 January 1876, and with him went his small pension from the Consular Service with which he often came to the assistance of his sisters. Annie, herself, and Mary then followed him very shortly and left Eliza as the last occupant of Coolmeen. This old lady refused to appoint a new steward in place of Pat Reilly, who was then incapable of managing the property by reason of his great age. She would allow no other person to take his place, as he and his ancestors had been confidential servants to her family for centuries. She, however, compromised with her brother John by consenting to place the rent collection in the hands of a Sligo land agency. By this act the MacDonaghs of Coolmeen ended a benignant contact with their tenantry which, in the case of the townlands in the neighbourhood

of Coolmeen, had existed for centuries. This breach was widened by instructions sent to the Land Agents in Sligo soon afterwards. Her handwriting shows this old lady to be then on the edge of the grave, and in this letter she tries for the last time to save from Tubbercurry Workhouse the direct descendant of the once powerful O'Conor Sligo.

" Dear Sir

As my two deceased sisters left their portion of the property to my brother, John MacDonagh, Surgeon, living near London, I hope you will have the kindness to settle with him in future. He will acknowledge, with thanks, the order for £20 sent to me, along with £5 given to Miss O'Conor of Roadstown.

I remain,
Yr. Obligd.
Eliza MacDonagh."

IV

The days of " slipshod rent collection " were over, and for the next few years the tenantry were made to feel the scourge of absenteeism. John MacDonagh, in his own way, represented the vampires who had already bled Ireland for generations and gave nothing in return. His thorough efficiency and total disregard for the economic depression experienced in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland made a marked contrast with his sisters' disregard of long-outstanding rent arrears, when one of them wrote across a rental : " I never read any of these things as I know they are correct and just."

From London John MacDonagh wrote to the Land Agents : " Owing to the inability of my sister, Miss Eliza MacDonagh, to manage her affairs, I wish to appoint you Receiver over all my property ". A postscript to this letter contained the ominous words : " When I hear from you I will give you some particular instructions".

Little did John MacDonagh, Surgeon, with a lucrative practice in a fashionable Victorian London surburb, dream that during his forty years of exile, great changes were ripe or coming to fruition in the land of his birth. Unfortunately, for him, his impressions of his native land were based on recollections of post-Catholic Emancipation Ireland, for he had left the country when O'Connell, one of his own class, was still the tin god of Irish serfdom. Little did he realise that the serfs he remembered, had long ago drank the dregs of their cup of degradation at the soup kitchens of the cholera and famine years in the " bad times ". Famine was still rampant in his native land, but the sons of the serfs he remembered, no longer looked to " Misther John " and his class as their natural and hereditary leaders. They were even at this time about to shelve the idealism of Thomas Davis and Isaac Butt, for they realised that the foundations of " Home Rule " must first be laid before its edifice could

take a roof. Had John MacDonagh been just an Irish exile he might have been proud to know that a long-suffering Irish tenantry was about to rise Phoenix-like from the ashes of a Feudalism of the most virulent form, to be purged and cleansed of a spirit which made the " Stage Irishman " the personification of his race. Instead we find him furious when he finds out that the hated Planter stock of his ancestors has at last mated their clansmen's descendants on the platforms of Parnell and Davitt in a year of famine, hatred and resurgence, the eventful year of 1879.

Clapham, Surrey, February 8th, 1879

" Dear Sir

I am very pleased to have received your reply to my letter, and by *way of beginning business* I place the following in your hands and hope you will do the best you can for me.

Lisakill, a townland adjoining Coolmeen, my family residence, was allowed to run into arrears of rent owing to my late sister's (Annie) illness and a desire on my sisters' part to be as lenient as possible—(too much so).

In addition to this they all owe the November rent and will soon owe the May one, if allowed. They are all insolvent and have impoverished the lands, and they cannot get out of it anything like food and clothing. Therefore I entreat of you to proceed, at once, against them in as inexpensive way as possible and, if you do not get the rent now owing, *evict them without delay* and do not let them till the lands next Spring. I would prefer getting the lands, so as to let them as grass-lands, for in this way I would be sure of getting the rents punctually at nearly double the rent they pay. I have let the greater part of the lands of Coolmeen as grass-land, and I find no trouble in getting a very high rent—nearly £3 5s. an acre."

It is unnecessary to pursue further the unpleasant story of this descendant of the Great Counsellor. By long residence in England he had become more English than the English themselves.

J. C. MacDonagh

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XIX.—MERGANSERS AND GREBES

MERGANSERS.—Mergansers or " Sawbills " are a very distinct group of Diving Ducks, differing from other ducks by their narrow and slender bills, in which the upper mandibles do not overlap the lower. On the edges of both mandibles are saw-like, sharp teeth, directed slightly backwards and admirably suited for catching and holding fish, which constitute the stable food of the birds. The nail is large, occupying the whole tip of the bill, and is sharply decurved. Both sexes have either crests or elongated feathers at the back of the head and neck.

THE GOOSANDER.—The Goosander is a scarce winter visitor, met with chiefly on inland waters and in severe seasons. It is said to occur probably annually, but one seldom hears of an occurrence either as seen or obtained. In many years of watching I have identified the species only on two occasions. The most recent instance of which I am aware was on the Swords Estuary, where two adult females were seen and identified by Lt. Col. C. F. Scroope on November 11th 1947, and by him and his brother, Dr. G. Scroope, on November 19th.

The drake Goosander, the largest of the " Saw-bills," has a bottle-green head, white breast and sides, suffused with salmon pink, and a black head. His head is without a distinct crest, but the occipital feathers are elongated forming a kind of mane, and his bill is blood-red. The somewhat smaller duck has the back and flanks ash-grey, a rich chestnut head, a well-defined white patch on the throat and white breast and under-parts. A white patch shows on the hinder part of the spread wing.

The species breeds in northern Scotland (since 1871), in Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia east to Kamtschatka and the Commander Islands. The nest is in holes in trees and banks and sometimes in old buildings. There are usually 7–13 eggs, sometimes more. The wintering range is from the Baltic and North Seas to the Mediterranean, Black, Caspian and Aral Seas, and from Asia Minor to India.

THE RED-BREASTED MERGANSER.—This species is resident in Ireland and breeds commonly on the larger lakes and on several marine loughs and islands. Outside the breeding season it is rare on inland waters, but is common around our coasts, frequenting estuaries and often wandering up tidal rivers. In September and October near Dunleary and Malahide I have seen close flocks of 30–40 young birds with only a few adults. At other times, when numerous, they are broken up into small parties.

The drake is smaller than the Goosander and may be distinguished from it by its chest band, which is reddish-brown streaked with black, by its prominent crest and the conspicuous black and white patch on the shoulder. As in the Goosander, the head is bottle-green and the bill is red. The duck has a brownish-grey back and a dingy white throat-patch and a crest, which though smaller than in the drake stands out noticeably. Juveniles are very like females except for the shorter crest and greyer back, and young males do not acquire full plumage until the second winter. The legs, like the bill, are red in both sexes, but less bright in the female.

The Merganser is an active diver when fishing in deep water. I have often seen it feeding in shallow channels, wading and dipping its head under water. Sand-eels are said to be a favourite food. It is quick on the wing, flying straight both high and low, the wings producing a slight whistling sound. It does not rise directly from the water, but patters along for some yards with much splashing.

The nest is on the ground, often well concealed by rank weeds, brambles or other bushes, and sometimes among boulders. I have seen many nests in Lough Derg, with clutches varying from 7 to 12, but numbers up to 19 have been recorded abroad. The brown ducklings are tended by the female only ; and where there are many families on the same water, there is a tendency, as has been noticed in the case of the Sheld-Duck and the Eider, to combine into large groups with only one adult in attendance. Only one brood is reared in the season.

The Merganser is a Holarctic species, breeding in Europe, Asia and North America. It winters south to the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the African coast, and in Asia Minor, Palestine and Persia, and to a less extent in India, China and Japan. In America it migrates on the east and west coasts to Florida and California.

THE SMEW.—The Smew is a rare winter visitor, chiefly to Leinster and Ulster, but it probably occurs annually. Like the Goosander it is found more frequently on fresh than on salt water. Adult males are less common than females and young birds. In more than twenty years I have seen only three mature drakes on the Dublin coast.

The Smew, being about the size of a Teal, is much smaller than the Goosander and the Merganser and with a shorter bill. The adult male, being mainly pure white, is perhaps the easiest duck to identify on the water. It has a drooping white crest, a circular black patch round the eye and a black band on the centre of the back from the base of the neck to the dark tail. In flight it shows much more black, presenting a pied effect, the wings being black with white wing-bars. The female has a chestnut-red head, throat and cheeks pure white, the back, breast and flanks grey and the abdomen white. She has a high forehead, characteristic of the species,

a small but distinct crest and a white wing-patch smaller and less conspicuous than in the male. The bill and legs in both sexes are grey. Immature birds are much like the female, but a first winter bird, which was shot on February 23rd 1941 at Curragh Chase, Co. Limerick, and which I examined in the flesh, showed no crest that I could see.

The Smew flies rapidly with quick and noiseless wing-beats, and when flushed from water can rise with the agility of a Teal. It swims buoyantly; but like the other Saw-bills, when alarmed or suspicious, it sinks its body deeper in the water. It nests near water, in holes in trees where available, and readily occupies nesting boxes set up on purpose for the taking of the eggs.

It breeds in northern Europe and in Asia east to Kamtschatka, and winters in Europe south to the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and in Asia to Palestine, Iraq, Persia, N. India and Japan.

THE HOODED MERGANSER.—The Hooded Merganser is a North American bird, which breeds in Canada and the United States and winters chiefly in the southern states, south to Cuba and Mexico. As is to be expected, it is only a rare and accidental visitor to this country. There has been no record in the present century. In the last century Payne-Gallwey shot a pair in Cobh Harbour in the severe weather of December 1878; and in January 1881, also in hard weather, near Ballylongford, on the estuary of the Shannon, he shot a female. Other less well authenticated birds are reported to have been taken in Dingle Bay (c. 1840), at Knockdrin, near Mullingar (Watters), in Tralee Harbour (1880) and near Sligo (1881).

The Hooded Merganser is a small duck, slightly larger than the Smew. The drake is black and white, with a remarkable fan-shaped crest, which is white bordered by black, with two black bars on the white breast and with a white patch on the dark wings. The duck is dark brown above, with a buff crest, whitish throat and wing like the drake's. The bill is black, edged with orange in the duck, and the legs are yellowish-brown, dusky in the duck.

GREBES

Grebes are slender diving birds with straight bills, with their legs set far back and with flattened tarsi. Their toes are furnished with broad lobes of skin, which are joined only at the base and not forming continuous webs as in ducks and gulls. Their plumage is soft and fur-like. Formerly "Grebe-fur" was in much request for muffs and the trimming of ladies' dresses, and for this purpose furriers used only the white satiny breast and under-parts, especially of the Great Crested or "Tippet" Grebe. Grebes have no visible tails. In habits they are rather like Divers, but they differ considerably from Divers in structure. The young are more or less

striped black and white. The eggs are four to six in number, white and unspotted. Five species are found in this country.

THE GREAT CRESTED GREBE.—The Great Crested Grebe is resident and apparently increasing and extending its breeding range. It nests on most lakes which are of sufficient size and which have reed-beds. In Ussher and Warren's time it was not known to breed south of Lough Derg, but in recent seasons it has been seen with unfledged young on waters in Limerick and Wexford. In winter many resort to estuaries and coastal waters. There is no evidence of immigration, but within the country birds move south in autumn, especially from the smaller lakes and from the northern counties, some reaching the southern coast by November. It is frequent and often numerous on the Dublin coast throughout the winter. Thus in February 1947 there was a flock of 20–30 outside Dunleary Harbour. I saw these birds near the West Pier, packed closely together and resting buoyantly on the water, their heads turned to one side with their bills hidden in their feathers and their white breasts gleaming in the afternoon sun.

The Great Crested is the largest of our Grebes and is easily recognized on the water with its long slender neck, usually held erect, and its dark crown and ear-tufts, suggestive of a shallow cap or mortar-board. The back is dark grey-brown and the under-parts are silky white. The ear-tufts are present in all stages, except in the very young, but are smaller in winter and inconspicuous in first year's birds. In summer there is an expansible frill or " tippet " of rich chestnut shading to blackish. The female is rather smaller and has the crest and tippet less developed. A white wing-bar, which is sometimes, but not always, visible on water, is shown clearly in flight. On the coast and in the larger lakes it rarely takes wing if approached, but dives and reappears at a safe distance. When swimming it usually keeps its body low in the water and its long neck erect, but when resting it often floats higher, at times rolling over on its side to preen. In winter it is a rather silent bird, but it is noisy enough on the lakes during the nesting season, when I have often heard a loud trumpet-like call which carries far over still water. The young frequently utter a petulant cheep which is said to be their hunger-cry.

The nest, composed of water weeds, bleached reeds and rushes, is usually in reed-beds, not far from the edge. The eggs are at first chalky-white, but they gradually become stained from contact with the decaying materials of the nest and, before hatching are buff, brown, orange or red according to the nature of the vegetable juices and the minerals in the water. The incubating bird often pulls weeds over the eggs before leaving the nest, but in my experience not so consistently as does the Dabchick. Though the species is often single-brooded, two clutches in the season are not uncommon. Both sexes share in hatching and tending the young.

Like Swans, Great Crested Grebes often carry one or two of the very young on their backs when they are moving about the nesting lake in family parties.

The food consists of fish, insects and larvae, vegetable matter, crustaceans, newts and tadpoles. A somewhat curious habit of this and other Grebes is that they swallow some, often many, of their own feathers which are afterwards brought up in castings together with fish bones and other indigestible substances.

THE RED-NECKED GREBE.—The Red-necked Grebe is a rare winter visitor, usually in this country found on or near the coast. It has been obtained in about twelve instances at long intervals. In recent years there have been several sight identifications. Towards the end of January 1943 Lt. Col. C. F. Scroope identified two or three off the North Bull, Dublin, and in the same place a small group of watchers and I saw two on February 4th and one on March 4th 1943. In 1946 Mr. P. E. Dunn and I identified one in Wexford Harbour on March 18th ; on March 15th Mr. Ivan Goodbody and I watched four, two of which had well-developed ear-tufts, off the west pier, Dunleary, and on March 25th I saw one bird in the same place.

This species is smaller than the Great Crested Grebe, with a shorter and thicker neck. In winter, when the ear-tufts are absent or rudimentary, the top of the head looks rounded, without the mortar-board effect of the larger species. The dark colour of the crown comes down to the level of the eye, without any white stripe above. The bill is black, yellow at the base. The secondaries are white, conspicuous in flight and appearing as a narrow white stripe when the bird is on the water. In summer the ear-tufts are prominent, but there is no ruff. The upper-parts are greyish-brown, the top of the head and the back of the neck glossy black and the cheeks are grey, bordered above by a pure white line from the base of the bill under the eye to the nape. The sides of the neck and the breast are a rich chestnut, and the rest of the under-parts are silky white, mottled with black.

The Red-necked Grebe has never been known to nest in these islands, but it breeds in many parts of Europe and Asia. It winters south to the Mediterranean region, the Balkan peninsula, Asia Minor, Persia, Turkestan and Semipalatinsk.

THE SLAVONIAN GREBE.—The Slavonian Grebe is a winter visitor in small numbers, but it is much more frequent than the Red-necked Grebe. It has been more often found on the north and north-west coasts than in the south, and it has occurred several times on inland waters. On a few occasions between April and June it has been obtained in full summer plumage. I have seen single birds on various occasions, and once five

together off the North Bull, Dublin. Two were identified by Mr. J. P. Brunker on December 12th 1946 on the Swords Estuary, Co. Dublin, and on February 17th 1947 I examined one which had been shot a day or two previously near Clondalkin, Co. Dublin. Ussher and Warren had no record of the species for Galway, but on a few occasions in recent years Major R. F. Ruttledge suspected that small Grebes which he saw on the coast of that county were Slavonians. It was not, however, until February 13th 1947 that he found the conditions favourable and was able to identify satisfactorily a Slavonian Grebe near Kinvarra on Galway Bay.

The Slavonian Grebe is noticeably smaller than the Great Crested and Red-necked Grebes, and slightly larger than the Black-necked and Little Grebes. The smaller species are by no means easy to identify except at close range, in good light and on calm water. On many occasions I have seen Grebes which I considered to be either Slavonian or Black-necked, but failed to get the distinguishing characters. When feeding they spend most of the time under the water, and on emerging, often with their heads turned away, they at once dive again. On one occasion I had both species in winter plumage under observation together. The Slavonian looked somewhat the bigger with a straight bill, which appeared relatively stout in comparison with the slender, up-tilted bill of the Black-necked. In the Slavonian the black of the head did not reach below the level of the eye, there was a small white spot in front of the eye and the white on the sides of the head almost met at the back of the neck, suggestive of a white collar. In summer plumage the Slavonian Grebe has a chestnut neck and breast, a black head and frill and two tufts of golden yellow erectile feathers extending from the eye and projecting like horns above the nape. It is on account of these head ornaments that the bird is also called the Horned Grebe. This species is not so shy as the other small Grebes, and when disturbed it shows a greater tendency to fly than to dive.

It breeds in many parts of northern Europe and Asia and in North America from Alaska through Canada and in some of the northern United States. In winter it migrates south to the Mediterranean, to Persia, Turkestan and China and in America to California and Florida.

THE BLACK-NECKED GREBE.—Ussher and Warren (1900) could cite only twenty-one instances of the Black-necked Grebe having been obtained in Ireland, stating that it was a rare and accidental winter visitor, with two records for June. During the present century there have occurred, at least for the bird-minded, exciting, if not sensational, changes in the status of this Grebe. It was first proved to have bred in Ireland in 1915, when the late Mr. W. J. Williams received a young bird for preservation from a lake in the Midlands. Then on June 19th 1918 the late Mr. J. ffolliott Darling presented to the National Museum a male and female in full breeding plumage and three young in down, which he had obtained

the previous day on a western lake. Mr. Darling died without disclosing the locality of the lake, and nothing more was heard of the breeding of the birds until 1929. In that year Messrs. C. V. Stoney and G. R. Humphreys discovered a breeding colony of considerable size in a lake in the west, which they had every reason to believe was the lake from which Mr. Darling had sent specimens to the Museum in 1918. In 1930 they further investigated the colony and estimated it to contain two hundred and fifty breeding pairs. Such a strong settlement, though at the time it seemed to be quite meteoric, must necessarily point to many years of growth, with its origin probably dating back to long before 1918. In May 1932, when Mr. P. E. Dunn and I first visited the lake, the colony was still in a very flourishing state. We examined 155 nests with eggs, and there were many more. We considered that perhaps we had seen not much more than half their number. It was a thrilling experience to find ourselves in the midst of such a profusion of nests of a species which we had hitherto known as a rare winter visitor, to watch the birds in their lovely summer plumage and to listen to their soft musical trill, which we soon learned to distinguish from the rippling notes of the Dabchick.

Our next visit was in May 1934, when sad to say we saw no Black-necked Grebes and all our hopes for the stability of the colony were rudely dashed. The lake, with the exception of one expanse of water and a narrow channel in the middle, was dried up, and the whole nesting area was overgrown with rank weeds and rushes. We were told by local people that the previous dry summer, followed by an unusually dry winter, had left the lake lower than it had ever been known to be in the memory of the oldest inhabitants of the district. In 1935 and 1936 we found the conditions still unfavourable. In 1937 it was reported to us early in the season that the water had risen considerably and that six pairs of Black-necked Grebes were present. On our visit on June 5th the original breeding site was still without sufficient water for nesting Grebes, but in the deeper part of the lake we found one nest with eggs. There were probably a few other nests which we failed to locate because we could not move the boat through the dense reed-beds and the water was too deep for wading. In 1938 and 1939 a few pairs were present and probably nested. The conditions in 1940 were very similar to those in 1937 : the water was fairly high, but not high enough to cover the old breeding ground. Two pairs were seen and two nests were found by a friend of ours, a competent watcher from the nearest town. Our visit on June 30th was rather late for the season, and our friend could show us only one nest still occupied. It contained one egg, undoubtedly a Black-necked Grebe's, which was covered in the usual way, and there were fragments of shells around indicating that the other eggs had hatched out. Since 1940 no Black-necked Grebes have been reported from that western lake.

The question that has continued to exercise ornithologists is where the

large colony of birds found an alternative nesting site when this one suddenly proved unsuitable, but no satisfactory answer has been forthcoming. There has been spasmodic nesting of a few pairs in a midland lake, but nothing deserving the name of a colony has been discovered. In winter the species has continued to be rare and irregular. It has no doubt been often overlooked, as it is very shy and being not much bigger than the Dabchick it may easily pass for that species.

In summer plumage the Black-necked Grebe is a beautiful and distinctive bird. The outstanding features are the black neck and the tufts of straw-coloured feathers radiating like fans from behind the eyes over the cheeks. It is on account of these plumes that the bird is also called the Eared Grebe. The back is dark brown, the sides of the breast and flanks are chestnut and black, and the abdomen white. In winter it lacks the black neck and the ear-tufts and is very like the Slavonian Grebe, but can be distinguished by its slender up-tilted bill and by the black of the head extending below the eye and down over the ear-coverts.

The nests which we examined were often very close together. In one restricted area of shallow water, which was not more than a foot deep and which was studded over with tufts of grasses and rushes, there were 93 nests. Generally the nests were moored to, or on the top of, the tufts, but some were built up from the bottom without any shelter of vegetation. The remaining 62 nests were scattered over a larger space of deeper water, in six groups in and around clusters of decayed and growing reeds. In the bigger clumps, of from five to ten yards across, we did not examine the nests in the interior, as we could not do so without disturbing the frail platform of bleached reeds on which they rested. In one of the groups we counted 25 nests with eggs, in the others from 5 to 9, with an occasional nest of the Great Crested and Little Grebe. In another part of the lake at some distance away there was a very large colony of Black-headed Gulls, but to our great surprise we found some nests of the Gulls side by side with the Grebe's. In one instance a Gull's nest was between and touching two nests of the Black-necked Grebe. We concluded that the Black-headed Gull is not the unmitigated egg-thief it is sometimes represented to be. In only two nests, which were not near any nests of Gulls, were the eggs sucked, but whether by Gulls or Crows we could not say. The nest is of the usual Grebe type—a pile of wet and decaying vegetation—very like the Dabchick's, perhaps lower in the water, not so compact and with the top more flattened, not dome-shaped, when the eggs are covered. In fact we began guessing to which species a nest belonged before uncovering the eggs and we were generally right. Rarely were the eggs left uncovered, and sometimes we could see the eggs through the covering. The number of eggs varied from 1 to 7 and averaged a little more than 3 per nest. Fourteen nests contained 1 egg each, eighteen 2 each, seventy-two 3 each, forty-two 4 each, eight 5 each and one nest had 7 eggs. The

eggs are white when freshly laid, but soon become stained from contact with the wet weeds and are somewhat larger than the Dabchick's and less pointed.

The Black-necked Grebe breeds in central and southern Europe, in Asia and in Morocco and Algeria, North Africa. In winter it migrates south to the Mediterranean, the Azores, Madeira and the Canaries, and east to Persia, India, China and Japan.

THE LITTLE GREBE OR DABCHICK.—This species, the smallest, the most common and wide-spread of the Grebes, is resident and breeds in every county. In winter many resort to rivers, tidal estuaries and the sea coast, but its occasional striking at lighthouses around the Irish coast is said to be due to nocturnal wandering rather than to regular migration. Outside of the nesting season it is seen singly, in pairs or in small parties, rarely in large numbers. On August 21st 1937 at the Cull, Kilmore, Co. Wexford, Mr. Paul M. Dunn and I watched a compact flock of 30–40, which were all diving and emerging in unison.

On the water the Dabchick looks more squat and rounded than the other Grebes, with a shorter neck and, owing to its habit of fluffing out its feathers, appearing to be comparatively broader at the stern. It has no ear-tufts or tippet. In summer the upper-parts are brown-black, the chin and upper breast are black, the cheeks, throat and sides of neck are chestnut, and the under-parts silvery white mixed with black. In winter it is lighter and browner above and silvery white below, the white of the throat and neck being suffused with brown, and the flanks being buff-brown, sometimes tinged rufous. It is an active and expert diver. When come upon suddenly no bird can disappear so quickly under water. When feeding it sometimes sinks gently without causing a ripple on the surface, sometimes it plunges forward like a Shag, kicking up quite a splash of water.

The Dabchick nests in quite small ponds, by rivers and in the reedy margins of lakes. The nest is generally a heap of decaying and slimy water plants, either floating but moored to some stable growth or built up from below in shallow water. As a rule the eggs are covered before the sitting bird leaves the nest. The eggs, 4–6 in number, with 5 as a common clutch, are at first white, but gradually become stained by the slimy weeds. The young leave the nest on hatching and swim buoyantly and are often carried on the backs of their parents.

The call is a soft, subdued note like the whistle of a Teal, and from February to September one often hears the clear, thrilling song, suggestive of the whinny of a foal for its mother. The presence of the secretive Dabchick is often indicated to the bird-watcher by this rippling trill.

This species ranges through central and southern Europe and through some parts of Asia and northern Africa.

P. G. KENNEDY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

LXXXV

THE POET ASKS HIS PATRON TO PROTECT HIM

To Art son of Conn son of An Calbhach (†1458) son of Murchadh Ó Conchobhair Fhailghe. Cf. FM 1482, 1483. His mother was Mór (st 5), her family-name being unknown. Some unidentified members of his family are given in st 9. The Mairghréag in st 7 is Mairghréag dau. of Tadhg Ó Cearbhaill and Mór, dau. of Brian (†1399) Ó Briain. She married An Calbhach, Art's grandfather and in 1435 gave the famous feast to the poets of Éire.

In stt. 15–24 is told the story of the *ollamh* Domhnall son of Aonghus Ó Cobhthaigh who was slain by the Clann Cholmán and was avenged by An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Fhailghe, Art's grandfather, at the battle of Cnoc Aisde which battle is not mentioned elsewhere.

1. Cia ór cheannchas mo chosnamh?
ní héistear ar n-athosnadh;
mithidh linn a eol d'fhagháil
dámadh eol inn d'iongabháil.

2. Eagail nach aidémhthar dhamh
cia ór cheannchas mo chosnamh;
cur linn as lámh fa dhochar
dámh sinn ar n-a sárachadh.

3. Ní cheileabh ní [as] sia ná soin
an té ar a ttarla ar liamhain;
cosg cáigh as éidear le hArt,
náir is gan mh'éigean d'fhurtacht.

4. Dá mbeadh gan éncheannach uam
d'oighre Cuinn na ccolg ndiombuan
[ní fhuilngfeadh] só mh'osnadh air;
mo chosnamh as dó dhleaghair.

5. Do-chíd cách gur marbhadh mé
tar chumairce meic Mhóire;
sgéula dámadh áil le hArt
náir gan mh'éura nó m'fhurtacht.

6. Ní bhia meisi ag maoidheamh Airt,
dó féin as dúthcha ar ndíoghailt
—cá feirrde mé a dhúthchacht damh?—
dúthracht Dé muna dearthar.

7. Fada go bhfhuileongad soin
mo mharbhadh d'aicme Fhiachaidh
racht salann an oinigh d'éag
doiligh nach marann Mairghréag.

8. Ní bhiadh Féilim fa dhíon damh
ná Tadhg ná ar ccara Cathal;
ní bhiadh an Calbhach ná Conn
ná Brian a n-anbhrath umom.

9. Mithidh dúinn, cidh deacair sin,
celeabhradh don fhéin Fhailghigh
ó nach mar an mogal flath
nar ghabh cogar ar chumthach.

10. Cuiream cúl re hÍbh Failghe,
ceanncham cairt ar ccumairghe,
mar do-ní an Gall gabham soir;
ní mharann clann an Chalbhaigh.

11. Druim riu do ba deacair dhamh
muna mhaithdis mo mharbhadh
rú madh sgarthain dá sgolaibh
marthain do chrú Chonchobhair.

12. Braithim d'Art—córaide ar gclódh—
gomadh urasa mh'iompódh
a measg Ghall ní gabhthar sinn
a ccarthain an tann tairgim.

13. D'éis charad do dhéanamh dhe
d'éis charthana meic Mhóire
dul uadh damadh éigin damh
truagh 's gomadh éidir mh'fhosdadh.

14. Leanmhain mo mharbhtha ó mhac Cuinn
mar shaoilim féin dá bhfaghuinn
don turusa linn as lór,
dob urasa inn d'iompódh.

15. Fuaras—ní d'adhnadh fholadh—
sgéal ar oighidh n-ollomhan,
an té 'sa fréamh ó bhfuilim;
lem sgéal as hé ionnsoighim.

16. Le druing d'uaislibh fhear Midhe
mac Aonghais ar n-oidine,
ceann ó cCobhthaigh, ceann na sgol,
torchair—nír fheall nar híocadh.

17. Oide éigeas innsi Fáil
do thuitim re cloinn gColmáin,
ní bhia mé ag maoidheamh an fhill;
do sgaoileadh hé fa Éirinn.

18. Tig an Calbhach fa loinn lais
d'agra mharbhtha meic Aonghais
díorma sluaigh go seol ccuradh
mar fhuair eol a ollamhan.

19. Mac Murchaidh is maithe cáigh
do dhíbirt chloinne Colmáin
do-niad énbháidh na n-aighidh,
siad d'énláimh dá n-ionnsaighidh.

20. Cruinnighid Gaoidhil Ghuirt Fhloinn
go Cnoc n-Aisde d'éis Dhomhnaill;
ann do breathnoigheadh an bháidh
ler leathnoigheadh clann Cholmáin.

21. "M'ollamh an leanfaidhi leam"
fiafroighis d'uaislibh Éireann;
freagra cháigh mun ollamh air
gurbh ollamh dháibh dá dhíoghail.

22. Gach neach dar fhiafraigh sé soin
dob í a fhreagra ar mhac Murchaidh;
" mé a ndeoigh a éarca as umhal
réalta eoil na healudhan."

23. Bheith uile d'énaontaidh lais
a ndiaigh mharbhtha meic Aonghais
orfhuighle cháigh ima cheann;
dháibh fa comhuirle choitcheann.

24. Leannán folaigh chríche Cuinn
nír sguir do dhíoghuilt Dhomhnuill
go ttug fógra—cá dú dháibh—
a Fódla do chrú Colmáin.

25. Dénadh Art a aithris soin
tre fheall oirne d'fhuil Fhiachoidh ;
ní dhligh gan díoghail an fhill
as ar ibh d'fhíonfhuil Oilill.

26. Dá mbeadh go n-éisdfeadh riamh ruinn
mac Móire nar dhiult doghruing
an fhuil ríogh as ithir d'Art
mithidh mo dhíon le a dúsacht.

27. Ní chreidim go ccualaidh mé
fuil uaibhreach Oilill Áine ;
mun ar ghabh a ngruadhaibh Airt
uamhain damh gan mo dhíoghailt.

28. Fuil Chéin má do-chualaidh sinn
mó as fhada a-tá na toirrchim,
aire am dhíoghailsi do dhligh ;
caidhe an fhíonfhuilsi Éibhir.

29. An lá nach bia ag brosdadh Airt
mar chongnamh dhúinn far ndíoghailt
fuil Chonuill ceann na ccuradh
oruinn cá fearr folmhughadh.

30. Fíonfhuil Chathaoir ór fhás Art
iongnadh gan í dom fhurtacht ;
ní chualaidh teagmháil riamh ruinn
nach biadh na headráin aguinn.

31. Fuil Rosa 'sa fréamh ó bhfuil
fuil uaibhreach Bhreasail Bhealuigh,
an dá fhíonfhuilsi as díon damh ;
mo dhíoghuilsi as díobh dleaghar

32. Ós lé leantar do bhunadh
easonóir na healudhan,
an ccualaidh fuil Nuadhan Neacht,
go bhfuil mh'uabhar ag imtheacht.

33. Cara na héigne as sí sin,
do bheanas céill dom chairdibh,
—caidhe fuil Laoghaire Lorc ?—
ní fhuil aonduine ar mh'fhurtocht.

34. Cá fuil dá n-áirmhim uime
dá ndeachaidh Art oruinne
nach orra rem dhíoghail díobh
tonna d'fhíonfhuil na n-airdríogh.

35. Do ghabhas geall ele air,
súil uaine an abhra chraobhaigh ;
caithfidh mo riar gun rosg mhall,
ní bhiadh na thosd acht tamall.

36. Biaidh agam dá ndeachadh dhíom
fola uaisle na n-airdríogh
an taobh seang nó an ghruaidh ghealsoin
mur gheall uaidh rem uireasbhaidh

37. Dá mbeath nach aontóchadh Art
ar gheall dar ghabhas mh'fhurtacht
an mhala sheang nó an bhas bhog
ní clos a gceann a charad.

38. An cumann do cheanglas ris
mac Cuinn a cceann ar ccairdis
beag nar dhearbhus nach bia ar bun
cia ór cheannchas mo chosnamh.
Cia

TRANSLATION

1. Who is the man from whom (by my poems) I have purchased protection ? No heed is given my constant groaning ; 'tis time for me to find out if there be any way of defending myself.

2. The question as to who it is from whom I have bought protection will not, I fear, be answered ; to interfere with me is to stir up trouble ; I am a poet who has been wronged.

3. I shall no longer hide the name of him to whom I refer ; Art can restrain any man, 'tis a shame for him not to alleviate my stress.

4. Even had I not made this bargain (i.e. poems in return for protection) with Conn's scion, that wearer-out of swords, he should not have listened unmoved to my sighing ; (for) to protect me is his duty.

5. Everyone sees that I have been mortally struck in spite of the protection given me by Mór's son ; if he had approved of this he should have openly disowned me, else he should have defended me.

6. I shall not however say much about Art ; if he does not reject his duty to God he will be the more strictly bound to protect me ; (else) of what use to me is his connexion with me ?

7. I am loath to put up with mortal injury from Fiacha's race ; it has come about that the salt of hospitality is dead ; alas that Mairghréag is not alive !

8. (Were she alive) Féilim would not now be on his defence against me nor Tadhg nor my friend Cathal ; the Calbhach and Conn and Brian would not be betraying me.

9. 'Tis time for me, hard as I find it, to bid goodbye to the host of Failghe, for they no longer live, that crowd of princes who never betrayed friendship.

10. Let me now leave Í Fhailghe, and buy (elsewhere) a charter of protection ; let me make Eastwards as the Goill do, for the Calbhach's race no longer lives.

11. Had they not permitted this mortal insult to me I should have found it hard to leave them even if the departure of their scholar-poets were compatible with the survival of Conchobhar's race.

12. I expect it will be easy for me to come back to Art and that there will be the greater reason for coming back seeing that when I offer my favour to the Goill I am not welcomed among them.

13. After giving my love to Mór's son and making a friend of him, 'twere a pity to be forced to leave him, especially as he could have bound me to himself.

14. If I could get Conn's son to avenge this mortal insult which I imagine has been offered me I should get tired of this notion of leaving, and 'twould be easy for me to change my mind.

15. I have discovered a story which—not that I wish to arouse any ill-feeling by it—tells of the death of an *ollamh*, a man of the stock whence I come ; 'tis he of whom I speak in this story.

16. Aonghus' son, chief of I Chobhthaigh, our master and head of the schools, was slain by some nobles of the men of Midhe—a treacherous act not left unavenged.

17. The death of the master of the poets of Inis Fáil—I will not dwell on that treacherous deed ; word of it went through all Eire.

18. Then the Calbhach—he felt so furious—went forth with his soldiers and warriors to guide them to avenge the murder of Aonghus' son as soon as he heard the news about his *ollamh*.

19. To drive Colmán's race from the land Murchadh's son with the nobles of all his folk form a league against them and go forth together to attack them.

20. After Domhnall's death the Gaoidhil of Flann's land gather at Cnoc Aisde ; there the league was established by which Colmán's race was scattered.

21. He (the Calbhach) asks Éire's nobles this question :—Would ye help me to avenge my *ollamh ?* The answer of them all about the *ollamh* was that they were ready to avenge him.

22. The answer given Murchadh's son by all to whom he put that question was :—" I am willing to exact the *éric* of that guiding star of poetry."

23. That they agreed with that answer was the cry of all concerning him after the murder of Aonghus' son ; it was the common decision of them all.

24. (The Calbhach), secret lover of Conn's land, ceased not his effort to avenge Domhnall until finally he banished Colmán's race—note it well—from Fódla.

25. Let Art imitate him as regards the foul deed done by Fiachaidh to me ; Oilill's wine-blood which he has received in his veins binds him to avenge that act of treachery.

26. If Art, Mór's son, hero who never shunned any hardship, would only listen to me, the stirring of the royal blood, the source of his being, would make him feel that the time has come to protect me.

27. I do not think that the proud blood of Oilill of Áine has heard me ; as it has not yet flushed Art's cheeks there is danger that I be left unavenged.

28. If Cian's blood has learned of my state it has been too long asleep ; it should have taken care to avenge me ; where is Éibhear's wine-blood ?

29. When the blood of Conall, chief of warriors, is not inciting Art to help in avenging me, what better way can it take to make itself useless to me ?

30. A wonder too that Cathaoir's wine-blood whence Art is descended is not set on defending me ; it never heard of anything in connexion with me but what would be in my favour.

31. The blood of Ros of whose stock he is and the noble blood of Breasal of Bealach—these two bloods are my defence ; 'tis their duty to avenge me.

32. As Nuadha Neacht's blood regularly avenges any insult to poetry, can it have heard of my pride being taken down ?

33. I have despaired of all my friends ; where now is Laoghaire Lorc's blood, ever a friend in distress ; no man comes to my aid.

34. Of all the bloods which I have enumerated and whence Art is descended are there any waves of the high-kings' wine-blood which could not have avenged me ?

35. I have got yet another claim on that grey eye of Art 'neath its curving brow ; that proud eye must take charge of me ; only for a short time may it abstain from doing so.

36. Even if all the noble high-kings' bloods fail me, I shall have the graceful body and the bright cheek (of Art) as a security against want.

37. Even if Art does not admit the claim for help which I put forward, that fine-drawn eyelasn and that generous hand have never been known to turn on a friend.

38. I have now almost proved that my agreement with Conn's son will not stand in the way of our friendship ; (I ask again :—) " Who is the man from whom I have purchased my protection (with my poems) ? "

TEXTUAL NOTES

MS : 23 D 14, p. 77 except for the following : 1*b*. na *d*. ind 3*a*. as *abest c*.chá. ; -dir 4*c*. na fuilngeadh 5*b*. mhic mói. 8*a*. dí. 9*a*. dhuinn 10*a*. híbh bhfai. 13*b*. mhic mói. 14*a*. mac cuinn *d*. ind 15*a*. fo. *c*. (*and* 31*a*) *Use of* sa (=isa) *is unusual in this type of rel. clause. The ordinary construction would be* an té ó bhfuilim fhréimh. *Also notice unlenited* fréamh ; *cf. BST p.* 276, *Notes* 4, 6. 17*a*. indsi 18*b*. mhic *d*.fu. 22*d*. -adhan 23*b*. mic 24*c*. ttuc 28*b*. fa. 30*c*. teaghmh. 34*b* -chadh 35*c*. mall.

MAURICE LENIHAN: HISTORIAN OF LIMERICK

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

PART IV

LENIHAN'S merits as an historian were recognised by the Royal Irish Academy in April 1869 when he was elected to membership. It must have been a source of deep gratification to him that his friend Father O'Hanlon of Dublin was elected a member also on the same occasion. The offices of the *Reporter* had meantime been changed to 104 O'Connell Street. Lenihan was made a Justice of the Peace in 1870, through the influence (it is said) of his friend John O'Hagan, Q.C., whom he had known since O'Connell's time. It may be recalled that O'Hagan, who later became Lord Chief Justice, had been counsel for the defence of Gavin and Russell at the sworn inquiry following the stormy election of 1868. But these honours did not help to increase the sales of his *History of Limerick*. He soon learnt that historical research and, least of all, its publication did not infallibly secure good financial dividends. And yet his financial losses over the *History* did not deter him from planning an even more ambitious work in the early seventies. He collected and published, by weekly instalments, materials for a History of the Dalcassians ; but this work got no nearer publication than its original news-column format—though he had the encouragement of many friends, especially of Archbishop Leahy and Fr. O'Hanlon.

His newspaper had a wide circulation at this time, but it certainly met with a mixed reception from many readers. Lenihan seems to have been discouraged by the unfriendly attitude of some of the local journals. A letter of the Archbishop of Cashel in 1872 would indicate that Maurice felt in need of his old friend's support. He writes from Thurles : " . . . . I am fully sensible that the maintenance of the *Limerick Reporter* is the maintenance of one of the ablest, if not the very ablest, Provincial Paper in Ireland as an organ of Catholic interest. The very best, far the best articles I see on Catholic questions are those which come from your own pen in the *Vindicator*. Apart, therefore, from my friendship for yourself individually and from the interest I should feel in any thing with which you are identified, I should feel called upon to support the *Limerick Reporter*." The friendship of Archbishop Leahy and Maurice extended back almost to Maurice's earliest days in journalism, and scarce a week passed that they did not exchange letters. For years the *Limerick Reporter* was the semi-official organ for news of the Archdiocese. But besides the news of diocesan interest, the *Limerick Reporter* faithfully

stressed whatever His Grace asked the editor to emphasise. A letter of the Scrap-book indicates the Archbishop's views on the national status of Irishmen abroad. Two Irish gentlemen were on a pilgrimage to Rome and were spoken of as Englishmen when attending an audience of the Holy Father. They protested that they were Irish and not English. The Italian newspapers of the day reported the incident. His Grace was evidently pleased with the Irishmen's protest and writes to Maurice to have the fullest publicity given the incident.

Archbishop Leahy proved himself a friend of Lenihan, however, not merely by the encouragement of his private letters to Maurice but in coming out openly when the *Limerick Reporter* met with heavier weather than usual. Thus, in 1874, a series of attacks in the local press culminated in a libel action against the editor. The Mayor, J. J. O'Cleary, had been elected to a third term of office, and many newspapers throughout the province commented rather severely on what they called the juggling of local politics in the Limerick Corporation. Lenihan was opposed to the election of Cleary, and it was natural that he should say something on the matter in his paper. He did not publish a line of his own writing however, but merely inserted the disapproving comment of one of the provincial papers. A libel action was taken against him, and he was fined £50 with costs. The lowness of the fine can be explained by the fact that he was caught out only on a technicality. The real blame attached to the original publication and not to Lenihan's. The matter did not end at that. The verdict of the court was discussed in the press throughout the country, and for weeks in succession the *Reporter* published excerpts from the editorials—all of which supported him. It was on this occasion that Archbishop Leahy published his letter of sympathy for the editor and expressed his disapproval of the attacks made upon his paper. Lenihan, as the outcome proved, was not a penny out of pocket over the transaction. The legal bill was promptly paid by a subscription raised by his readers and fellow journalists.

It must not be forgotten that Lenihan devoted much time to his duties as a member of the corporation. No committee for drawing up a public address or forwarding a protest to Dublin Castle on some current grievance was complete without him. He was a shrewd member in debate on matters of civic administration. In the Corporation his voice was raised again and again on behalf of the Fenian prisoners. This is the more remarkable when we remember that his political views underwent no change from the days of his association with O'Connell. He still believed that constitutional means were alone the best means to bring about the repeal of the Union. At the Corporation meetings and in his newspaper he warmly supported the land policy of Isaac Butt. Not every member of the City Fathers, however, agreed with this policy, which they roundly denounced as " interfering with the rights of private property ".

The death of Archbishop Leahy, in January 1875, was a severe blow for Lenihan. Their friendship was one of many years standing. The Archbishop encouraged Maurice in his historical studies and generously gave him access to MSS. and other historical documents of the diocesan archives. Yet another link with Tipperary was broken about this time in the death of Charles Bianconi. Bianconi was many years Maurice's senior, but for all that their friendship extended back to the 'twenties. Bianconi, it may be remembered, began his business career in Carrick-on-Suir, the native town of Lenihan's mother, Margaret Burke. It was at the Burke home that Maurice first made Bianconi's acquaintance. Possibly it was through Bianconi that Lenihan made the acquaintance of Daniel O'Connell. There are extant many letters of Bianconi to Lenihan. For the most part they consist of invitations to Maurice to pay a visit to Longfield or to meet him when passing through Limerick on business. In a memoir of Bianconi, Maurice tells us that he was constantly called upon by ' his excellent friend ' to act as the dispenser of Bianconi's charities to deserving causes. Bianconi's name was proverbial in its day for generosity.

In this same year, 1875, there was still another break with the past for Lenihan in the death of Sir John Gray. Their friendship went back to O'Connell's time. Gray was for many years editor and proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*. It may be of interest to recall his opinion of the *History of Limerick* : " Those who desire to become acquainted with the minutiae of these events in connection with Limerick, I would refer to the able and comprehensive work of Mr. Lenihan, the accomplished and erudite historian of Limerick, whose valuable book contains not only the most complete details respecting the Catholic Metropolis of Ireland, but much which the general reader of Irish History ought to be acquainted with and will not find elsewhere."

Lenihan was unfortunate in his children. With the exception of two of his daughters all were dogged by ill health, and Maurice continued to be the family bread-winner almost to the end of his long life. In the early eighties, one of his daughters, an invalid, was killed while walking in her sleep, and two other members of his family died after lengthy illnesses some few years later. It was in the early eighties that he began to feel the pinch of poverty, though he struggled bravely to keep up appearances. Desperately in need of money, he was forced to part with his valuable library and his collection of Historical Mss. Before he was driven to this extreme, he had previously consulted Fr. O'Hanlon about the disposal of his Mss. in the event of his death. Fr. O'Hanlon had acted as his go-between with various research scholars—Sir John Gilbert and others—but nothing came of Fr. O'Hanlon's inquiries. He now sold his valuable collection to the British Museum, probably because its curators offered him the best price. It is regrettable that the principal treasure of his

collection, the Arthur Ms., thus passed out of the country. Still, it is hard to blame Lenihan for disposing of his Mss. as he did, for sentiment must count for little when hard necessity presses. It is the Corporation rather that is deserving of blame for not having purchased—and purchased at a handsome price—Lenihan's books and manuscripts.

Lenihan was elected Mayor unanimously on December 1st 1883. His tenure of office is worthy of remembrance for the successful outcome of Limerick Corporation's resistance to unjust taxation, in which Lenihan himself played no small part. To understand the full story we must recall briefly the series of events from the late Spring of 1882. Shortly after the Phoenix Park murders the Corporation of Limerick was notified from Dublin Castle that the city was declared to be in ' a state of disturbance ' and that the cost of maintaining additional members of the police force must be met by an increase in the rates. The reasons submitted by the Government for augmenting the police force were shown by the Corporation to be utterly groundless. " Resistance to the police " was shown to be merely the routine drunk and disorderly type of offence ; " an attempt on the barracks " had no connection with any of the citizens ; and " damage to property " was assessed at the current Assizes to amount to the modest sum of £15. The Corporation Estimates, therefore, ignored the cost of maintaining the extra police. But scarcely was Lenihan installed in office when a demand for the money was issued from Dublin Castle. By this time the additional police had been withdrawn from the city. A writ was served from the Four Courts, but it received no more notice than the bill sent in by the police authorities. The Viceroy then intimated that the Corporation would be served with a writ of MANDAMUS.

The Mayor (Lenihan) and three members of the Council, on their own initiative and at their own expense, then left for London to place all the facts before the Irish members of Parliament. Parnell and his colleagues introduced the topic in the House of Commons and made an excellent case for the Corporation's resistance to the tax. At a meeting of the Municipal Council held on 22 July 1884 the following resolutions were passed : " That the thanks of this Corporation be given to Charles Stuart Parnell Esq. M.P. and the Irish Parliamentary Party for the manner in which they received the deputation who recently waited on them with reference to the extra police tax and for the able manner in which they subsequently debated that question before the House of Commons. That the best thanks of the Council be voted to the deputation, the Mayor (Mr. Lenihan), Mr. O'Mara and the town clerk for the spirit they manifested in going across to London to represent the case of Limerick against the Extra Police Tax, at their own expense and at great inconvenience, and for the successful manner in which they discharged their duties." The Viceroy, now alarmed by the corporation's stand and imagining that cajoling might be more effective than threatening, invited a deputation

of Council members to a round table conference. The Viceroy's invitation was refused on the grounds that acceptance would amount to admission of liability, and his Lordship's attention was drawn to the fact that in the recent Parliamentary debates the extra police bill for the country was shown to be ' oppresive, illegal and unjust.' The Corporation was then informed that his Lordship, after due consideration, discovered that he could justly reduce the bill by about twenty-five per cent., and at the same time he reminded the Corporation that fiery speeches by Irish members of the House of Commons were not acts of Parliament. Meantime messages of congratulation and encouragement had been pouring in from many parts of the country. The conclusion of this episode may be read in a letter of Thomas Sexton, M.P. for Limerick, and dated from the House of Commons Library 6 December 1884. It will be sufficient to quote the last sentence : " I heartily congratulate the Council on the effective check they have administered to arbitrary rule and on the victory they have won in a cause of public right."

Other events of interest in the mayoralty of Lenihan were the raising of the tolls on Athlunkard Bridge and the admission of Michael Davitt to the city's freedom. On the same occasion two other notabilities of the day, the M.P.s for Carlow, Charles Dawson and Edmund Dwyer Gray (son of Lenihan's old-time friend Sir John Gray), were also enrolled as Freemen of Limerick. Lenihan's term of office as Mayor of Limerick ended in a blaze of glory owing to the Corporation's successful resistance to the police tax ; and at the inauguration of the new Mayor on January 1, 1885, the thanks of the Council to Lenihan were, on the motion of Alderman Cleary his former adversary, carried by acclamation. Lenihan's long association with the Corporation ended towards the end of 1887, when he withdrew his name from the list of candidates owing to advancing years as well as increasing embarrassments in maintaining his family business. He had to change his offices and residence that same year from O'Connell Street to a smaller and less expensive establishment in Catherine Street. Pathetically, he explained to his readers that the change would benefit the *Limerick Reporter* owing to the nearness of his new offices to the railway terminus. A cursory glance at the files of his paper for the late eighties and early nineties is enough to show that the printing and proof-reading of this once great provincial newspaper left much to be desired. It was pathetic that a man so advanced in years and who in times past saw good days should have to continue a grim struggle to support himself and his family when a peaceful old age ought to have been his lot. Yet he seems to have met the days of misfortune with serenity. Up to the end he never lost his passion for pottering amongst historical works. In the summer of 1889 he presided over the meetings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries and, with all the zest of his earlier years, conducted the Society's members on their tours of Co. Limerick and the islands of the Shannon.

At the time of his death Lenihan had been sixty-five years a journalist. His death, though not unexpected, came suddenly. On Christmas morning 1895, as his family were preparing to go out to early Mass, they found that he had just passed away in his sleep. He was survived by his wife, his son James and three daughters. His wife and son died in poverty in the first decade of the present century. His daughter Margaret also died in poverty in the early 'twenties. His two surviving children, Mother Anastasia Lenihan, F.C.J., of Bruff Convent, and Harriet Patricia died in the middle 'twenties. The latter, who lived for close on fifty years in Australia, was able in her later years to enjoy a modicum of comfort from a Civil List pension accorded her by the then British Government in recognition of her father's merits as an historian.

The *History of Limerick* is not of course Lenihan's only claim to remembrance, though few will deny that it is a work of rare merit. In the course of this short sketch of Lenihan's life frequent reference has been made to the " Reminiscences". This work, whose complete title is " The Reminiscences of a Journalist," appeared in weekly instalments over a period of three years in the *Limerick Reporter*, 1866–1869. It is not a formal autobiography. Where we glean any information about himself and his family it is almost by chance. Thus memories of boyhood's days are apt to be found thrown in unexpectedly in any chapter. This does not mean that there is no order in the " Reminiscences". Lenihan begins with memories of outstanding people in Church and State and continues with a variety of topics—such as the Tithe War, the Great Famine, Young Ireland, Irish Painters, Poets, Musicians, Priests. An occasional glimpse is allowed us of some member of his family in a chapter whose title suggests little of what we are looking for. Thus in a chapter entitled " Painters of Carrick-on-Suir " we find tucked away in a long paragraph a reference to a painting by Ronayne of his grandfather Thomas Burke who died in 1801. The " Reminiscences " cover an extensive canvas, in which Lenihan has managed to present a wealth of interesting information on personalities and events of his time. Limerick gets its share of recognition, but to a lesser extent than his native Waterford or Clonmel or Carrick-on-Suir. The " Reminiscences " were eagerly received by his readers, as the editorial correspondence shows. Much against the advice of some discerning contemporaries, he did not venture to give this work the more enduring format of a book. His *History of Limerick* was not a financial success ; and so his " Reminiscences," a valuable work, is virtually inaccessible to-day, unless for those who have the opportunity and the patience to read through the few files now available in the country. If however Lenihan's " Reminiscences " ever find the format of a large volume or two, then students of local Irish history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will be grateful to the publisher.

FRANCIS FINEGAN

SOME PICTURESQUE PHILOSOPHERS

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

III.—SOCRATES AND THE SOPHISTS

BUT Parmenides only aggravated a crisis in Greek thought that had already begun when he came to Athens. At this time the libellous epigram of Quarles would have been almost true : " He who sitteth down a philosopher riseth up an atheist." The Ionic philosophers had left scepticism as their legacy. Their disagreement on fundamental principles raised doubts of the solubility of their problems and of the possibility of attaining truth. Nearly all had discredited the evidence of the senses where contact with reality is most palpable. The Heraclitean doctrine of flux implied that nothing was anything, though everything was perpetually going to be an unknown something. At the same time Attic poetry, now in its perfection, stimulated the minds of men by its swift illations and its challenges to criticism to seek sounder grounds for their religious and moral beliefs than any philosopher of the time could supply.

Hence the mental activity thus aroused and thwarted of its true goal was diverted to spend itself in public and practical life. Here it found rich opportunities. Democracy in Athens was realised with Gilbertian thoroughness. Any citizen could fill any position, and appointments were made by lot. Moreover political advancement was particularly covetable in fifth century Athens. The Greek states had just triumphed over Persia, and in states to which victory has opened the ways to do what they please politics promises dazzling careers of power to those who can persuade the citizens to adopt their policies. And when in Athens ambition and not the truth of one's ideas had become the motive of speech, it often became necessary to be able to argue on whichever side of a question was likely to aid one's interests. This general ability to make the worse appear the better cause helped to reduce the beliefs of all men to the single belief that nothing was safe to believe.

Hence at this time very few men had any firm religious or moral principles. Artificial doubt of the most obvious truths had been created. The only purpose of any man was to make himself famous and powerful. Men lacked even the blind fidelity to tradition that often keeps public life fairly clean amid modern scepticism. Meanwhile the tremendous power of Athens in the control of men ignorant of all the natural purposes of power was (to borrow a phrase of Roger Bacon's) like a sharp sword in the hand of a lunatic. Such conditions of life demanded that men should be trained to live the life of the politician on the make, without anymisgivings about morality or religion since these were inaccessible to knowledge. And the demand for teachers created the supply. It created the unique professional class of sophists.

THE SOPHISTS

The sophists were a class of wandering teachers who prepared boys for successful careers, chiefly in politics, and demanded (what was at that time a novelty) a fee for their tuition. They taught mathematics, science, literature, but above all rhetoric. They understood rhetoric as the art of arguing on whatever side of a proposition seemed most profitable to the speaker's own interests. For them the only true science was eristic, the knowledge of how to overcome in argument. They were thus educators of a peculiar kind that demanded in them a philosophical outlook; for only a man who had no convictions on any question could argue with equal force for and against it or teach others to do so. Scepticism with them was, therefore, a professional necessity and an essential part of their teaching. Doubtless their scepticism was only theoretical; for Protagoras's belief that each man was a law to himself did not prevent him from giving laws to the citizens of Thurii at Pericles's request, nor did Gorgias's principle that no one could tell another anything, prevent him from trying to tell the Athenians that they were bound to help the citizens of Leontini. Indeed as educators the sophists were the first to try to teach boys more than a little music with the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic. Nevertheless in their hands philosophy became a racket, a mere professional practice that would serve not to benefit others but to induce them to part with money. All their genius was devoted to persuading people that there was no knowledge, no fixed morality. You were disillusioned when you recognised that everything was illusion. You were a philanthropist when you were resigned to the misfortunes of others.

And yet the sophists lived comfortable lives. Protagoras had seen all the attractive places of his time and was enormously rich and famous when he was drowned on a voyage to Sicily at an advanced age. Gorgias was also rich and famous and probably died a centenarian. For, as in all ages, the teachers despised by the children became the idols of the parents. Sophists were the society lions of the time, present at all scoial functions of any moment to entertain the company by proving everyone to be in the wrong. Indeed sophists were then the fashionable way of wasting money, just as horses are now. Plato describes a typical meeting of sophists at the house of Kallias, who was much envied for his reputation of having spent more on sophists than any other man living. Protagoras was there and Prodicus and Hippias; and so was Socrates, though not more congruously than Saul amongst the prophets. That Euthydemus and Thrasymachus were not present seems to indicate that Kallias was a man of taste, a fancier as well as a financier of sophists with a fastidious preference for those who locked the cupboards in which they kept their skeletons. Yet Hippias, a typical and well-known sophist, was not without

his ostentatious points. His generous and ever-open offer was to lecture, for a consideration, anybody on any subject whatever. And as a kind of earnest or advertisement of his versatile ability to satisfy his customers he dressed in an eccentric costume, exotically gorgeous, every article of which, even to his cherished ring, had been designed and manufactured by himself. In a sense he was his own sandwich man. That Socrates was executed and Hippias was not is an eloquent commentary on the age.

Protagoras and Gorgias, however, were the only two sophists to be memorable in the history of philosophy. Protagoras based his scepticism on the usual grounds, the disagreement of philosophers, the Heraclitean doctrine of flux, and observation of such facts as that the same wind seems cold to one, warm to another. He succinctly expressed the whole of his own philosophy in the famous sentence *Man is the measure of all things.* The meaning of this statement is that things are as they seem but do not seem as they are. They depend on knowledge, but knowledge does not depend on them. Things have no other reality except their appearance to the individual man, and this appearance differs from individual to individual. A thing is of a certain nature for me because I know it to be of that nature : I do not know it to be so because it *is* so. Another may know it otherwise, and then for him it *is* other than to me. And apart from the various ways in which they seem or appear to various individuals, things have no ascertainable existence. Briefly I must believe that my thought creates its own objects ; the things that I think of have no existence except in my thought of them, for my thought of them *is* the things themselves.

Gorgias of Leontini came to Athens in 427 to beg help against the Dorians of Syracuse who, under pretext of the Peloponnesian war, had attacked his city. The Athenians were fascinated by this first acquaintance with Sicilian oratory, which applied ornament lavishly but never without a scientific motive and which aimed rather at bewitching than at instructing the audience. They sent aid and reduced the Sicilian war to a stalemate. But Gorgias also was fascinated by Athens, just as good Americans nowadays are said to be fascinated by Paris. He hastened back to settle his affairs and returned to Athens, between which and Thessaly he spent the rest of his life as a practising sophist.

Gorgias is important because he was always an Eleatic preferring the decisive denials of Parmenides to the pliant uncertainties of the sophists. No one can say that there is any hangdog prevarication about his robust repudiation of all truth. His philosophy is comprised in three firm and business-like statements : Nothing exists ; if anything existed, it could not be known ; if it existed and could be known, I could not tell anyone about it. That nothing exists is proved by the evidently true statement that nothing is nothing—which includes the statement that nothing *is*.

Gorgias admits that, on the same argument, being exists, but only to retort that the two conclusions contradict each other so that even still being cannot exist. If being exists, it cannot be known; for what is in the mind (known) cannot be outside of the mind (existing). If I knew being, I could not tell anyone of it; for the same thing cannot be in two minds at once and in any case would be changed by the predispositions of the knowers. How much trouble this philosophy would save us, if only it were not so little trouble to refute it!

This then was the situation at the end of the fifth century. The victory over Persia had left Athens with an empire. The law of appointing rulers by lot generally gave the control of that great power to men of mediocre ability and education. Deficient in the genius of government these men could only exercise authority by force and fraud. The only politicians then free from fear were those who by dint of specious words could hoodwink the citizens into following them. Rhetorical plausibility was thus the way to success and glory. The sophists came forth to teach rhetorical plausibility. But the condition of their art of persuading anyone of anything they pleased was that they should destroy the possibility of any firm general convictions in their audience. They must turn the prevailing ignorance of the people into a determined scepticism. So great was their success that the citizens were rapidly coming to doubt the existence of a moral law and, with easy consciences, were conniving at the ever-growing corruption. Socrates, the most gallant pagan of all time, whose intuition of the reality of moral obligation was of almost unexampled vividness, thought it evident that knowledge was the radical remedy for the ills of his day. And when he believed that he had seen in the apparently disastrous defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian war the natural consequence of Athenian unscrupulousness, he thought it evident that the remedy was urgently needed.

SOCRATES

Socrates was born in Athens in 470 of what we should now call well-to-do middle-class parents. He spent his fortune fighting for his country as a hoplite in the Peloponnesian war (when the hoplites had to pay for their own accoutrement) and in observing his liturgies. The liturgy was another Gilbertian feature of Athens. It was an honour conferred on distinguished citizens requiring them to make a handsome contribution to the state funds, a kind of income tax on reputation. Most citizens modestly deprecated the honour and were usually under the bed when friends came to tell them the good news. Socrates however, though he never sought honour, never tried to escape it and always fulfilled his liturgies. His wife Xanthippe was an eternal type, utterly baffled by Socrates's behaviour, yet unwavering in her fussy and talkative devotion to him. Like St. Thomas More he was to know how harrassing is such

devotion to a man condemned to death. She bore him three sons.

The first event in Socrates's life, after his meeting with the Eleatics was the occasion when the Delphic oracle told Chairephon that no man was wiser than Socrates—which Socrates interpreted by stating that he alone of all men knew that he knew nothing. A few years later he was in the Peloponnesian war. Here his courage was of the high order that appears most of all in defeat. In the Potidaea campaign he was observed to stand apparently in an ecstasy stock-still for twenty-four hours of an icy day and night. Next day in the battle, when his friend Alcibiades was wounded, Socrates stood over him defending him with his sword till danger was past. And in the retreat from Delion he chose with Laches to take his place in the rear of the broken army, where he fought with such coolness that neither was wounded. After nine or ten years of fighting (his last battle was Amphipolis in 422) he retired and settled permanently in Athens, where his military prowess had long made him a popular hero.

Socrates at this time was an ugly, snub-nosed, goggle-eyed little man, bald and bearded like a satyr, and with a strutting gait. Lombroso would have diagnosed him as a degenerate. So much for Lombroso. His feet were bare, his clothes scanty. Except during the war he only once left Athens. All his life he was subject to premonitions or " hunches " warning him against projects as either unjust or imprudent. These doubtless were conscious expressions of the conclusions of sub-conscious reasoning. But Socrates attributed them to the voice of a guardian daemon ; and when he experienced no such warning against his dialectical crusade against the sophists, he concluded that he had received a divine mission. His humour and shrewdness, his courage and devotion to his friends made of him one of the great comrades of history and won for him from his followers a passionate hero-worship. Justice, temperance, and loyalty to the state were other virtues that he deliberately cultivated. And when Socrates was satirised in *The Clouds* in a way enchantingly funny to us, though cruel at the time for it brought him into temporary contempt outside of his own circle, he yet remained a close friend of the author's—for we find Aristophanes present at the Symposium not many years later.

After his retirement from the army Socrates resumed his mission with redoubled ardour. He saw the war as the natural punishment of power misused by ignorance. Both against the ignorant politicians and those who taught them ignorance he devised as a remedy the demonstration of the eternal necessity of moral standards, the demonstration of an ethical law that man could neither make nor unmake. He lectured on, and discussed, his philosophy in the streets and public places with the young aristocrats and others who soon began to flock around him. In the houses of the wealthiest citizens, to which he was always welcome,

he sought out the sophists and the politicians and attacked them in debate with a gentle relentlessness and inexhaustible patience.

What then was the philosophy of Socrates? The difficulty of giving an account of it arises from the impossibility of knowing exactly how much of the doctrine put by Plato into his mouth was Socrates's own and how much Plato's. The really crucial question is whether Socrates or Plato was the author of the doctrine of Ideas. It is impossible either to neglect or to treat adequately this question here. Suffice it to say that the testimony of Socrates's own friends is conflicting. Plato suggests that Socrates was its author, though he does not say so. Xenophon omits the doctrine from his account of the master's teaching, but he does not explicitly deny that Socrates held it. If it is recalled that Xenophon's *Memorabilia* was written after Socrates's death, we cannot find any good reason why Xenophon should wish to conceal the truth. Neither can we assert with conviction that his silence is equivalent to a denial of Socrates's authorship. The contemporary evidence therefore leaves us, not indeed with a contradiction, but with a conflict of probabilities. All we can do is to give the casting vote to a witness of honest and critical mind who certainly derived his information directly from personal friends of Socrates. Aristotle asserts roundly that Socrates was not the author of the doctrine of Ideas. Yet Socrates must at least have foreshadowed it. His whole career is inexplicable unless we recognise his championship of the unchanging nature of moral law. *Know thyself* was his rule of conduct, for man's law is founded in his unchanging nature. It was Plato, however, who drew the conclusion that this law or image of good in human nature was derived from a general heavenly form or idea of Good.

We can, therefore, be sure of a certain nucleus of Socrates's teaching. The end of philosophy is not knowledge of nature, as his predecessors had proved by their failure to agree on any conclusion. The end of philosophy is virtue or the good life, its object man as a moral being. Knowledge, he said, is virtue; for no man can know what is good for him without desiring irresistibly to do it or to have it. No man will do what he clearly knows to be wrong to do. Here the mistake of Socrates was grave and was to have grave consequences in Greek thought. But it was excusable, for no man in fact can do evil unless he believes that he will get some good from it, though of a lower order than the good surrendered. And is the error much worse than the other extreme, the wide-spread modern presumption that knowledge has nothing to do with virtue, that the cult of one spiritual faculty, the mind, is irrelevant to the spiritual life? Anyhow for Socrates knowledge was virtue. Now knowledge of right action is a clear idea of what actions are right. And clear ideas of what actions are right are found by self-knowledge, by study of one's own human nature which determines what befits man as man to perform. But the ideas thus formed must be checked and confirmed by

comparison with the common consent of other individual men. If therefore we compare Socrates's missionary purpose with that of a later work like the Spiritual Exercises, we find that the former was essentially a persuasion to truth and knowledge, the latter a persuasion to goodness and resolution of the will.

But just as important as Socrates's teaching was his method of teaching. It was a system of question and answer aiming at bringing home to his interlocutor the actual reality of the facts signified by the words that he used. The interlocutor was thus to *realise* these facts by detecting them in himself by self-examination and then giving ultimate precision to his idea by comparing it with the meanings attached by others to the same word. This process of arriving at a true moral concept had six steps: (1) *Dialectic*. Socrates would feign ignorance and curiosity about the meaning of a word, generally an abstract word. He would then elicit by a question an answer which itself would need explanation. After some more questions the answerer's ignorance would gradually be revealed to him and the desire to know would be aroused. A rule of the game is that the answerer should have good manners, answering briefly, relevantly, never himself putting a case until Socrates's case had been thrashed out. (2) *Irony*. This was a manifestation of the absurdities to which the answers logically led and an implied ridicule of the answerer. Socrates employed it only against the more tough-skinned of the sophists. (3) *Maieutic*. This step, called midwifery or bringing to birth, was the most important of all. The answerer now thinks himself at the end of his resources. But Socrates induces him to divine vaguely by reflection on his own mind another answer that he did not know that he knew. Socrates would do this by drawing his listener's attention to the knowledge that he already possessed, never by infusing new knowledge into his mind—at least deliberately. (4) *Induction*. The answer, already vaguely known, is precised by comparison with well-known experiences of daily life and appeal to common sense. Needless to say this is not induction in the Aristotelean sense. (5) *Definition*. Now Socrates collects all the partially correct meanings of the word on which they have agreed and expresses their general notion in a formula covering all individual examples of the meaning and only those. Knowledge is now complete; we know what the word signifies by knowing the meaning of the word. (6) *Deduction*. There only remains now to apply the general definition thus obtained.

But the Socratic method can only be learned by seeing or reading of it in practice. For fuller understanding I can only advise the reader to analyse Socrates's dialectical strategy in Plato's Dialogues. Socrates so gave his whole mind to morality that he never elaborated his ideas on the rest of natural religion. But he certainly believed with fervour in the existence of one God Whom he served and in the likelihood at least of the immortality of the soul. We must now describe the events

that led to his death, for his death was to affect permanently the thought of the world. It shocked men into recognising that for the sake of truth a wise man could think it good for him to expose himself to destruction. The particular truth that Socrates died for preaching was the danger of power in the hands of ignorance. He was opposed, not to democracy, but to democracy in its extreme form in an uneducated society. He was opposed to Athenian democracy.

In 406 Socrates was chosen by lot a member of the state council, the Five Hundred. On principle he accepted office despite the warning of his daemon. That year Athens had won, at a great price, the naval battle of Arginusae. At the end of the engagement thirteen Athenian ships had been sunk and twelve were sinking helplessly, while their crews still clung to them or struggled in the waters strewn with wreckage. The eight Athenian generals instructed the trierarchs, Theramenes and Thrasyboulus, to save the drowning men ; but a storm arose that prevented all rescue work and overwhelmed the sailors from the lost vessels. When the sea was calm again the fleet faced empty waters, the grave of fifteen hundred of their comrades. On being summoned to Athens the generals accused the trierarchs of a breach of duty. Theramenes retorted by accusing them of allowing an interval of fair weather to pass before giving the rescue orders, thus rendering them impossible to fulfil. We do not know whether he spoke the truth ; we do know that he was believed. Six of the generals were put on trial before the Five Hundred when Socrates had his turn to be judge. The mass trial was illegal, for the law demanded six separate trials. Socrates protested in vain and at last refused to take further part. The generals were condemned and executed. This apparent defiance of a state decision provoked for Socrates the dislike both of the authorities and the people, who wanted revenge for their lost ones on anyone even at the cost of justice.

The second incident to cloud Socrates's popularity occurred in 403. Athens had surrendered and her Long Walls were levelled. The exiled oligarchs had returned and, in alliance with those still in the city and with the support of the Spartan army of occupation, had erected the tyrannous government of the Thirty Oligarchs. Its leaders were enemies of Socrates : Theramenes because of his protest against the trial of the generals ; Critias because, though once a disciple of Socrates, he had been denounced by him in public for particularly ugly immorality. Nevertheless they were prepared to use the services of Socrates. They wished to arrest and assassinate Leon of Salamis, a spirited democratic leader, and confiscate his property. In order to dissimulate the criminality of the act they judged it wise to have at least one man of established honour as an accomplice. Socrates and four others were ordered to carry out the arrest. Socrates alone refused and was only saved from death by the defeat and deaths of Theramenes and Critias at the hands of Thrasy-

boulus and the insurgent democrats. But when democracy was restored, it was only remembered that the Thirty had acted as the masters of Socrates—not that he had refused obedience.

The gathering storm against him burst in 399. Actually nobody seriously considered him a criminal or a menace to Athens. But everyone, especially the government, was exasperated by his mordant criticisms of democracy, renewed with all his old insistence as soon as the citizens with a new enthusiasm had renewed the democracy. And the exasperation was greater because the criticisms were hard to deny. A good man but intolerable was the general verdict. Yet no democracy can consider the frank expression of opinion as a crime. Anytus, therefore, accused him before the Five Hundred of contempt for the state religion and of corrupting the youth. The charge of dissenting related his case to the law passed against Anaxagoras under which he could be prosecuted. But it could not be sustained. Many years before all the statues of Hermes in the city had been mutilated. At the same time burlesques of the Eleusinian mysteries had been carried out privately in houses some of which belonged to Socrates's friends. It was suspected that the two profanations were connected with Socrates. But Andocides had just confessed to the Five Hundred that he had mutilated the statues. The serious part of the charge, therefore, was that about corrupting the youth. It was based on the behaviour of some of his followers that was attributed to his teaching: Critias had been a tyrant; Xenophon and Alcibiades were traitors to their country and exiles among her enemies. When we consider these grounds we see the real import of the charge: Socrates was arraigned for propagating unwelcome criticisms of the prevailing order in politics.

His trial was held in the court of the assembly before over five hundred jurymen. These must have filled the body of the hall. On one side nearer the door was a platform on which sat the President of the Court, the King Archon, with his notaries. Opposite was another platform on which stood the dock containing the accused. Only a few other citizens can have been admitted, members of influential families like Plato or relatives of Socrates. His accusers did not desire his death. They hoped to goad him into flight and exile. The case for the prosecution was perfunctory and ill-prepared. Meletus, one of the prosecutors, even mistook the accusation for one of atheism. Then Socrates rose to make his defence before a court reluctant to condemn him. With characteristic irony that defence was calculated to provoke condemnation. Intentionally or not, Socrates tricked his judges into condemning him to death. He ably and easily exploded the contention that he had affected Attic religion or the young men in any harmful way. The court felt relieved. Then with effective unexpectedness came his conclusion. Whether acquitted or not, even the threat of a thousand deaths would not induce him to alter his conduct. At these words uproar broke forth in the court and, when

the voting stones of the jurors had been taken from the urn and counted, Socrates was declared guilty by a small majority.

The indictment had demanded the death penalty. But a prisoner could always suggest a lighter sentence to the Court, usually a fine. Socrates now proposed to pay one mina as a fine, all that he could afford. But, though Plato and Crito raised the fine to thirty minae on their own security, the court paradoxically thought the price still too low for Socrates's life and refused the offer. Then Socrates declared that the only equitable retribution for such a life as his was maintenance in luxury in the City Hall at the public expense. He politely suggested this as another alternative to the death sentence. This time the court was outraged. A reformer of morals had claimed to equal in worth a victorious athlete at the Olympic games. The court sustained the death sentence. " I go " said the condemned man " to death, and you to life. Which is the better, God knows."

But Socrates did not die immediately. Every year a ship sailed to Delos on a religious errand, and during the thirty days of the voyage no man could be put to death in the city. Socrates spent the time in the prison in continuing to instruct his companions. They, led by Crito, planned his escape. It would have been easy. But when Crito in the dark dawn came to the prison and made his way to Socrates's cell before the world was stirring, he found himself reluctant to wake the sleeping Socrates. And when his master awoke and Crito timidly told him of the arrangements, he knew the cause of his misgiving. Gently but firmly Socrates refused to disobey the rightful authorities of the city. Two days afterwards in presence of his friends he packed Xanthippe and her lamentations home and unconcernedly drank the hemlock that was brought to him by the officer of the prison. The painless paralysis crept up from his feet and in less than an hour he was dead.

Bury declares that he was a martyr to freedom of thought. Nothing could be further from the truth. His whole life was an ardent effort to draw the attention of a materialistic state to the reality of fixed moral standards before which we are not morally free. Plato will complete the philosophy signified in this doctrine of his master. When Socrates died, he had dealt a mortal blow to scepticism and permanently directed the interest of the Greeks from the material to the spiritual world. He gave an impetus to scientific philosophy by insisting on the necessity of precision and clear understanding in our ideas and definitions of things. Moreover he showed the philosophic use of introspection on our own consciousness, but above all the importance of moral science and (*in* practice) the greater importance of moral practice. Professor Tierney was appealing to the right standards of measurement when he called Socrates the greatest of the Greeks.

ARTHUR LITTLE

REVIEWS

American Art

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PAINTING. By Samuel Isham. New York and London: Macmillan. 20s.

FURNITURE OF THE OLDEN TIME. By Frances Clary Morse. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

The history of painting in the United States is well-nigh unique. Differing from the Old World and Mexico, the art rested on no base of indigenous craft or tradition. Its beginnings were purely colonial and subservient to England and Holland; and tradition, to the extent to which any existed, was Puritan and inimical—inimical at any rate to any art but face-painting. Neither was its development organic, but proceeded almost to our own day by way of imitation or rejection of one set of models after another. In the arts, no more than in nature, there can be no Declaration of Independence, since to be isolated is to be sterile, and an organism is strong only so far as it can assimilate. But in the American case the oscillation from foreign school to foreign school was not the adventure of an experienced Ulysses, but the hunger-quest of starved youth. In the beginning it was of necessity; later it reflected a desperate claustrophobia and the reaction of wave after wave of successive immigrants. Our own generation has seen the change brought about by the integration of the country, but also by the formative influence of European masterpieces in American galleries and by the lively, intelligent and generous administration of these public and private collections. Students come no longer to Europe for rudimentary instruction but for a post-graduate finish. It remains still to be seen how far this eager activity will be absorbed and resolve itself into that unconscious unfolding of itself which marks an art that has found its footing. If one may judge from the parallel course of American architecture and literature, its future is secure enough.

Protesting like Isham himself against Procrustean period-beds, we can at the same time recognise the practical convenience of his division of two centuries of American painting into three periods—colonial, provincial and cosmopolitan. The colonial period begins when, like Minerva introducing the arts to Athens, Dean Berkeley stepped on to Rhode Island from his hired ship of two hundred and fifty tons, hand in hand with the Edinburgh painter John Smibert. This first and honourable association of Ireland with the arts in the U.S.A. is perpetuated in Smibert's painting of Berkeley and his family which hangs in the dining-hall of Yale; and it was continued in Copley who, born in Boston of Limerick parents in 1737, worked like Benjamin West more in London than in his native land and, with him, was the first of American painters to win recognition from old world academies. Painters of portraits and some history pieces, these men with Gilbert Stuart, who also painted much in this country, represent the top layer of American painting in this first period of colonial tutelage.

The second period is in many respects more interesting, though it is illustrated by less distinguished names. It includes the curious figure of Washington Allston and that more curious group of primitives, men unschooled in any academy and knowing nothing of European painting, whose simplicity has since captured the attention of a sophisticated generation. Uncovered by *Kunstforscher* of a later date than Isham, one regrets that their achievement has not been introduced into the supplementary chapters of the present edition. Allston stands in as abrupt contrast with this group as Emerson with Whitman. Haunted by memories of Titian and the high Renaissance, fastidious, but cursed like Coleridge with an inordinate faculty

for dreaming and talking, he held the best of New England in thrall—and not New England only but our own Mrs. Jameson who devoted to him a shrewd and entertaining essay. On his dilatoriness she records one excuse he offered her: "You must not judge of my industry by the number of pictures I have painted but by the number I have destroyed." Like Balzac's artist, he remains the painter of the unknown masterpiece.

This second period covers the space from the end of the war of 1812 to the Civil War. Occupied mainly with portraiture and influenced greatly by engravings, Isham finds its painting competent and commonplace, unduly insistent on trivial detail. Some exceptions he makes: for Alexander, on whom his Italian residence conferred a special grace and smoothness and again in favour of the Philadelphian-Irishman John Neagle's breadth of treatment and the purity and brilliance of Ingham's colour, who was born in Dublin and trained in the Royal Dublin Society's school. The illustrations in his text of their work confirm this view. This period saw the gradual conditioning of painting to the American air. Local landscape schools were born with Inness and Homer Martin at their head. New York began to supplant Boston and Philadelphia as an art centre. Artists grouped themselves into professional bodies; frequent exhibitions were held, and the growth of a large merchant class created a new demand for small, genre and still-life pieces. Isham, himself a painter, has no high opinion of their taste. Their education lay in the future and Emerson, whom Isham does not mention, bears him out on this point. In his *Journals* he inquires why there is no genius, no character in the fine arts of his country and answers tersely: first, influence of Europe, mainly of England; second, they are not called out by the necessity of the people: the mind of the race has taken another direction—property. Whatever truth there may be in this, the portrait painters of the period—Turnbull, Vanderlyn, Inman, Sully and Harding—were each breaking further away from the English tradition of Reynolds and West. Amongst them, one long-lived Irishman, George Healy, whose best-known painting hangs in the Faneuil Hall, Boston, had a greater reputation than the rest. Working in New York, Paris, Rome and Chicago, his prodigious output passed his own reckoning. It included portraits of Webster and Clay, Louis Phillippe and Guizot, Lincoln and Grant, Thiers and Gambetta.

In partial despite of Emerson it was this cosmopolitan existence which marked the post-Civil War third period, when painters flocked abroad to the painting schools in turn of Dusseldorf, Munich, Rome, Antwerp and Paris. The space they covered from Dusseldorf to Paris may be measured by the distance between Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* and Whistler's *Mother*. Isham has some interesting pages on the problems such travelling scholars met on their return. To paint the regular Salon picture in America was difficult; to sell it well-nigh impossible. There were other difficulties with nobler, imaginative themes. The public was unfitted to accept religious subjects. Classical mythology was unknown: "the average spectator was equally unacquainted with history, save some vague ideas about the Revolution and the Civil War". The artist himself "was not much wiser and there were other difficulties for artists trained by the study of the undraped model". Isham parallels the situation with Fromentin's account of the Dutch seventeenth century: "A nation of bourgeois, practical and consequently little given to dreams, very busy, not mystic in the least, anti-Latin in spirit". He finds the American capacity for idealisation "crystallizing about their womankind, and painters turned to depicting the grace of children, the tenderness of motherhood, the beauty and purity of young girls." We are familiar with such work from Thayer, Gibson, Whistler and Mary Cassatt; but there is another strain of idealism upon which Isham touches—but its development, passing into our own days, is outside his chapters.

Isham's text was written in 1905. The present edition is a re-issue at a comparatively low price, copiously illustrated and with five supplementary chapters by Mr. Royal Cortissoz. Isham's text is comprehensive and informative and, for that reason, valuable to many of us to whom the exact course of American painting and its institutions is little known. To some, however, its wealth of entertaining biographical and historical detail will not wholly compensate for the comparative absence of general views and interpretative judgments. This lack is not made good in the supplementary chapters, which deal with the twentieth century when the separate strands were drawing together and accelerated developments in all the arts were bringing other new and conflicting tendencies to a head. With Sullivan and Lloyd Wright in architecture, Albert Ryder, George Bellows, John Marin and Georgia O'Keeffe in painting, and other not less distinguished names in sculpture, another sort of American idealism found its American expression. In their presence no one now will echo Emerson's lament in 1836 on the absence from the arts of his country of either character or genius. A more extended treatment of these later painters would have added substantially to the interest of the present work.

Frances Morse's book has been saluted as a classic on old American furniture. Frequently reprinted since its first appearance more than forty years ago and with a new chapter and illustrations mounting to over four hundred, it gives a full conspectus of all the furnishings and fittings of such houses as figured in the exhibition of American architecture shown in Dublin last spring. The influence of the eighteenth century designers in these islands is everywhere immediate and paramount, and very many of the objects presented are no doubt of actual cis-Atlantic origin. Irish readers, very familiar with their styles, will be interested in the local modifications and particularly in the somewhat different proportions of doors and mantelpieces where European examples were not so easily imported but freely adapted to the exigencies of American building. And for such readers details of the craftsmen would be of more interest than of the fortunate owners. C. P. Curran

Biography

SHELLEY. By Newman Ivey White. London : Secker & Warburg. 2 Vols. 1947. 73s. 6d.

Perhaps the most fertile subject for biography is a life which offers abundant scope for conjecture. With Shelley the conjectural field is almost infinite, because there is a triple problem. It is necessary to investigate and, if possible, to rationalise the external events of his life ; to interpret his motives and reactions ; to establish a unity between the subjective and the objective. This is the task to which Professor White has devoted twenty-four years. His reward, and our gain, is a work of unique scholarship, insight and judgment. Lovers of Shelley are indebted to the sympathetic research of Professor Dowden, but the present biographer has had at his disposal material not previously available. Thus our knowledge is extended. Perhaps one of the most valuable aspects of this latter work is the author's temperate appraisal of controversial points ; his refusal to deduce absolute conclusions ; his sense of the complexity of that strange and wonderful entity known to us as Shelley. How various are the elements which combine even in the most ordinary human being ! But what is one to say of a being so elusive, so protean ? To his father, Shelley was a lunatic ; to Southey, who had once liked him, he appears a scoundrel ; to his father-in-law he is consistent only as a liar ; Leigh Hunt he impresses as the soul of goodness. What was the real Shelley ? An intense sensitiveness enclosed in

flesh, enclosed again in the tangled web of human contacts—one small atom in the ineffable system or chaos of living and thinking. Shelley's reality was within. His climate, his country are known to no one else. One would say that he lived at the core of an incandescence which blinded him to everything else. The erratic, even fantastic events of his outer life are merely hieroglyphics scrawled on the surface of things. Who can interpret them? With a fine wisdom, Professor White imposes no dogmas, but rather suggests a number of tenable theories. Not for him the psychoanalytic method. He says :—

> Some readers may think that Shelley's mental peculiarities should have been pursued from the point of Freudian analysis. Shelley was a bundle of complexes. Lacking the requirements laid down by Professor Freud—experience as both a practitioner and a subject of psychoanalysis—I am unqualified for such an undertaking. Lack of proper qualifications, however, might have deterred me no more than others, except that I do not believe such an approach yet consistent with the larger purposes of biography. To catalogue a genius according to the terminology of a science or art—and a new one at that—is to ticket him according to certain common denominators and to obscure the very genius which rebelled against being ticketed. It is a fair inference from Professor Freud himself that the average mind may never be able to interpret correctly the proper boundaries between the conscious and the unconscious. Thus the only psychology yet proper for general biography seemed to me the psychology whose most distinguished practitioners died long before the gods of psychology were born—the common-sense judgment of actions and motives that does not require special techniques and terminologies to make them fairly comprehensible.

And besides, how impossible to penetrate and to bring back accurate tidings of this spirit! Shelley says: " The mind in creation is a fading coal which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness. This power arises from within." To be forever consumed by this force, yet to control, direct, express it—perhaps that is the task of a great poet. In his *Defence of Poetry* Shelley tries to explain how such an inner life impinges on everyday existence: " In the intervals of inspiration, and they may be frequent without being durable, a poet becomes a man, and is abandoned to the sudden reflux of the influences under which others habitually live. But as he is more delicately organised than other men, and sensible to pain and pleasure, both his own and others, in a degree unknown to them, he will avoid the one and pursue the other with an ardour proportioned to this difference." But with Shelley it was not solely a question of adjusting himself to the world of men and women. He needed also to resolve the discords of life. Professor White considers fully the contemporary theorising—religious, political, sociological—which affected Shelley's trend of thought. Francis Thompson's view (that Shelley remained in one respect a child) seems too great a simplification, yet it contains a good deal of sense. Shelley always tended to swallow the false with the true. He accepted with equal enthusiasm all that was admirable in the French Revolution and also all its shallow sophisms. To him ancient Greece—a congeries of slave states—was " the mother of the free". He found in civilisation, not in man, a pervasive power of corruption, forgetful that from man originated civilisation. His perverse signature "atheos" seems merely a part of that defiant gesture with which he groped his way through a world in which he felt himself a stranger. However much he suffered through Godwin the man, his subjection to Godwin the thinker remained complete. He says indeed: " I consider poetry very subordinate to moral and political science." And yet he affirms: " Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

So brief a survey cannot even suggest the difficultes which confront the biographer of Shelley, the immense range of Professor White's inquiry, and the independence with which he presents every aspect of the poet and the man. It is difficult to envisage any future work on Shelley that could deprive this book of its just place as a classic.

B. G. MacCarthy

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By Eleanor Ruggles. London: John Lane the Bodley Head. 1947. 10s. 6d. net.

The tide of books on Gerard Manley Hopkins is in full spate and shows no sign of lessening—rather every sign of increasing. This volume is the third life—all three by the way by Americans. The writer is evidently a professional student of poetry and prosody, and her aim in writing the book is to trace the growth of the poet, to indicate the chief influences—persons, places, incidents, experiences—which fostered the growth of so unmistakable a genius and so original an art. Home and school; Oxford with Pusey, Jowett and Liddon; conversion and contact with Newman; vocation to the Society of Jesus and the formation he got from it which influenced him so profoundly; some intimate literary friendships, especially with Bridges, Dixon and Coventry Patmore; places like Roehampton, St. Beuno's, Stonyhurst, and Stephen's Green Dublin—all these influences on a most sensitive personality are studied and estimated.

The author has made a painstaking study of the already voluminous *opera* of her subject, which have been edited with such care and thoroughness; she has also read a great deal around these in an effort to understand the world in which Hopkins grew up and lived. It is a very delicate task to capture the atmosphere which a place or institution had for a sensitive soul eighty years ago; or to estimate the influence another personality exercised on his own. In some cases she has been happy—as where she treats of Canon Dixon, Patmore and of St. Beuno's and of Stonyhurst. At other times she does not get her picture into focus. An instance of this is the account of the religious atmosphere of Oxford in the sixties when Pusey and Jowett were the opposing influences; the account is lacking in respect and is a bit flippant. Newman's influence on Hopkins, especially at the period of his conversion and vocation, was very great. "Don't call the Jesuit discipline hard, it will bring you to heaven. The Benedictines would not have suited you." These words of Newman show a deep insight and sympathy. Somehow the Newman of these pages is a kindly wise old priest, but a Newman without the genius. Dr. Pick's book, *Gerald Manley Hopkins: Priest and Poet*, shows conclusively how profound was Hopkins's vocation and how deeply he was influenced by his Jesuit formation. Miss Ruggles has made a conscientious effort to understand the spirit of the Society; and she writes of it with respect. She is (presumably) not a Catholic and, in spite of her evident good will and painstaking study, she conveys an impression of something severe, rigid and a bit inhuman. Her account of the long retreat, which is one of the features of the Jesuit noviceship, is also rather unreal and sensational. But it must be admitted that Hopkins's idea of obedience was something too literal or even scrupulous.

An Irishman would find the background of Hopkins's last years rather sketchy and misleading. Mention has been made of Dr. Pick's book. In reading the present biography the question suggests itself at times if the full depth of Hopkins's spiritual life is appreciated and if the poet does not overshadow the priest too completely. But, in spite of reservations on these points, it must be admitted that this is not merely the fullest life yet written, but that it is a very competent one; that it is a book that will figure in every future select bibliography on Hopkins. The author is concerned to indicate the development of his genius; the manifestations of the first

stirrings of his power. She emphasises two qualities on which his originality depends to a great extent. The first was an extraordinary if not an abnormal sensitiveness of visual observation. Colour, shade, line, mass, in sky or cloud, in water, on leaf, grass, tree, soil, he observed with astonishing fineness and detail. And the second was an equal power to convey his vision in language precise, original, daring. His notebooks are filled with examples of these gifts. He had deliberately abandoned the writing of poetry on his entry into the Society of Jesus, from a false idea that such an occupation was unworthy of his vocation; but his journals and letters show that he was unconsciously perfecting his gifts during these silent years.

But side by side with this preparation of style, or rather below it, went a formation of mind and soul which gave the message he uttered with such power. The result was the great *Deutschland* poem written in 1875, in which he for the first time comes into full possession of his genius. All that he had by nature and grace, his gifts, his skill, his spiritual formation, and religious experience, are fused into this great poem. He had reached the full maturity of his powers. Alas that the yield of that genius was to be so small, so fragmentary. The depression and melancholy, which were closely allied to his sensibility, grew with his years and were proof against all the exorcising power of his religion. It is not easy to mention another artist who gives us the impression of waste, frustration, pity more poignantly than Hopkins. And yet that cannot be the final word even here. His religion gave him an explanation of life which he could accept even if he could not always realise. In the sonnet—one of those composed in Dublin, which he said were written in blood—in which he plumbed the dark depth of his depression, he asks why this trial should come to him; and his answer shows his fundamental Christian outlook. "Why? That my chaff might fly; my grain lie, sheer, and clear."

Miss Ruggles has conveyed with great sympathy and respect these last years during which his depression became deeper, during which he struggled against it sporadically, taking up one subject of study after another, but always with a conviction of frustration. But on his death-bed at Stephen's Green the cloud lifted when he had received Extreme Unction; and his words "I am so happy" marked, we trust, the beginning of the *lux perpetua* that his Faith held in trust for him. H. K.

SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI. The Legends and the Lauds. Edited, selected and annotated by Otto Karrer. Translated by N. Wydenbruck. London: Sheed & Ward. 1947. 15s.

THE dilemma presented to all lovers of the Poor Man of Assisi by the contrast between the personal idealism and asceticism of Saint Francis himself and the lamentable quarrels that sundered his Order, often to the grave scandal of the faithful, before and after the Founder's death, is familiar to all students of medieval Catholicism. Viewed from one angle, it is the most inspiring episode in the long history of the medieval Church; viewed from another angle, it is the saddest tale in the long story of human weakness and human fallibility. However we may judge the great issues that are involved in this doctrinal controversy, there can be no doubt at all as to the perennial youth and attractive power of the Franciscan ideal. Here is a volume that seeks to interpret the life of Francis in the light of our own recent experience of tragedy, sorrow and disillusionment in modern society.

Father Otto Karrer's writings are known to all readers of German Catholic literature. In this new volume, which has been admirably translated by Nora Wydenbruck, the scholar who has given us penetrating studies of Meister Eckehardt, Saint Francis Borgia and Cardinal Newman, applies his chosen technique of skilful selection and annotation to the scattered texts that have come down to us from the early days of the great Franciscan venture. Here is the greater portion of the early

" Legend of the Three Companions," which modern critics assign to Brother John of Ceprano, aided by Brother Leo, the most delightful of all the Saint's first companions. The probable date of composition is c. 1241–46 ; the text has been fairly claimed as " the best and most complete story " of the youth of Francis in Assisi. The " three companions," to whom the narrative was once traditionally ascribed, are Brothers Leo, Ruffino and Angelo. They certainly handed this narrative to Brother Crescentius of Jessi, Minister General of the Order, in 1246 ; but most modern critics now believe that we owe this legend to Brother John of Ceprano, though some would date it as late as the end of the thirteenth century.

The " Legend of the Three Companions " is here followed by long extracts from the well-known biography of Saint Francis by Thomas of Celano, author of the *Dies Irae* and the first official biographer of the Founder. It was written at the command of Pope Gregory IX in 1228–9 ; but a much revised version was produced by Brother Thomas in 1246, when the disputes between Brother Elias and the early brethren had caused the author to modify his earlier judgments. Some of Father Karrer's extracts are from the first, some from the second version.

There follow some fascinating extracts from the writings of Brother Leo and his early companions, dealing with the beginnings of the mystical brotherhood, the Saint's great battle for Holy Poverty, and the sufferings that mark his closing years. We have then some short extracts from the more elaborate and rhetorical *Vita* of Saint Bonaventure—that classic of medieval mysticism, in which the lowly Poor Man of Assisi is transfigured into the remote and inaccessible visionary of the Stigmata. In a brief Introductory Note to this section Father Karrer reminds his readers of the great struggle which rent the Order asunder in the days of Saint Bonaventure and of the drastic discipline which he enforced on the brethren of his day, not least upon his immediate predecessor as Minister General, Brother John of Parma who was deposed in 1257. From that struggle dates the long schism in the Order between the Spirituals and the main body of the Friars Minor.

The volume ends with some familiar passages from the famous *Fioretti*, rightly described by Father Karrer as " the choicest jewel among the Franciscan Legends". The *Fioretti* in their present form come late in the development of the Franciscan tradition ; but modern scholarship has been able to establish the truth of a statement made by the Order's great historian, our own Luke Wadding. These familiar Tuscan *Fioretti*, which have become " the layman's breviary " to so many devout Italian Catholics, were originally written in Latin. They are in fact derived from the great body of floating oral tradition concerning the Founder which was first set down in writing at a time when Latin was still the spoken tongue from which Dante's *soave lingua Toscana* was slowly being derived as Italy's literary language.

Last, but by no means least, Father Karrer gives us a translation of the Saint's " Canticle of Brother Sun ", with some characteristic specimens—alas ! how few they are—of the sermons, familiar instructions and personal letters of Saint Francis. The full text of the Rule is not given here ; but Father Karrer ends his selection most fittingly with the Saint's famous Last Testament, which was written down as an instruction for his brethren between May and September of the year 1226.

Here is indeed a volume which carries a message from the heart of medieval and Catholic Europe to the tragic sorrows of our own day. Father Karrer has made that message all the more direct and forceful by his thoughtful and suggestive Preface, in which he points out the significance of the Saint's own personal experiences as prisoner of war in the strife between Guelf and Ghibelline, and of the widespread misery of hunger, disease, poverty and crime which lay around him in his early formative years. Then came his dramatic breach with the gay social life of his own wealthy circle of friends in Assisi and his final farewell to father and family and all that life could offer him in a city where life was still vigorous and opportunities

of personal success abundant. Was the Franciscan doctrine of Poverty, as Francis preached it in his lifetime, narrower and more rigorous than the full doctrine of Christ as set forth in the Gospels and taught by the visible Church of Christ? Father Karrer cites some recent Franciscan scholars as defending the view that Francis read more into the Gospel narrative than can actually be found there, when Christ's teaching is viewed as a whole. Hence the tragic dilemma, which was to be apparent so soon, in the Saint's own life and in the lives of his followers. But " deadly poisons need violent antidotes " ; and there can be no question at all as to the place Saint Francis holds in the scheme of Divine Providence, summoning us back from the vain things of this world to the true life of the Spirit in Christ.

A. G.

NEWMAN AND BLOXAM. An Oxford Friendship. By R. D. Middleton. London : Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press. 1947. 18s.

IT would be difficult to point to any notable historical personage with a greater capacity for friendship than John Henry Newman. His power of drawing others to him and his own need for their sympathy lasted all through his long life ; but these characteristics were, perhaps, never so marked as in his Oxford years, when he and his contemporaries had the common bond of a great religious hope to stimulate the natural capacity of youth for friendship. " Round Mr. Newman," recalls Dean Church, " gathered, with a curious mixture of freedom, devotion, and awe—for, with unlimited power of sympathy, he was exacting and even austere in his friendships—the best men of his college . . . and in addition some outsiders . . . These, members of his intimate circle, were bound to him not merely by enthusiastic admiration and confidence, but by a tenderness of affection, a mixture of the gratitude and reliance of discipleship with the warm love of friendship, of which one has to go back far for examples."[1]

Among the " outsiders " who entered the circle of Newman's friends was John Rouse Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen. He was a comparatively late comer, for though he had met Newman casually in 1831, it was not until 1836 that he became curate of the newly-erected Church at Littlemore, which was in Newman's care as Vicar of St. Mary's. Bloxam remained at Littlemore until 1840, and the friendship which thus commenced lasted until the Cardinal's death in 1890. This friendship has now been ably and sympathetically chronicled by the Rev. R. D. Middleton in a work which is largely based on three volumes of Dr. Bloxam's papers, hitherto unpublished, contained in the library of Magdalen College, supplemented from other sources, notably letters preserved in the Birmingham Oratory archives.

The book, as the author explains, is " not in any sense a life of either John Henry Newman or J. R. Bloxam". It inevitably covers, however, a certain amount of already familiar ground : Newman's work as tutor of Oriel, his preaching in St. Mary's, the Tractarian Movement, the storm over Tract Ninety, and Newman's retirement to Littlemore. Yet many new and interesting sidelights are thrown on events of the period, such as Newman's perturbation over the invitation given by Queen Victoria to the King of Prussia to be god-father to the Prince of Wales, an incident which seemed to set the seal on the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric. Confirmation, too, is found in Newman's letters of the loyalty shown to him by the great Dr. Routh, who invited him to examine in Magdalen in the very year of his entering the Catholic Church. A long chapter is devoted to letters on Reunion between Bloxam and the high-minded but over hopeful Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, whom Manning called " a visionary " but Gladstone " an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile". Lay readers may find these letters somewhat remote,

[1] The Oxford Movement, Ch. VII. p. 115.

but at least they reveal the edifying spectacle of two men who could differ with complete mutual respect and charity. These two characteristics were, indeed, outstanding in Dr. Bloxam. In spite of Newman's urgent representations, he never renounced his allegiance to the Church of England, but his affection for his former vicar remained unchanged to the end. Newman and he had agreed when together at Littlemore that, on the death of the one, the survivor should say for him the Roman Office of the dead. Mr. Middleton's story ends with the picture of the flag flying at half-mast over Beeding Church in Sussex and Dr. Bloxam saying within the *Missa pro Defunctis* for the dead Cardinal from a missal given him by his friend in their Littlemore days.

F. McGrath

Celtica

FEILSCRIBHINN TORNA. Essays and Studies presented to Professor Tadhg Ua Donnchadha on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Edited by Séamas Pender, M.A. Cork University Press. 1947. Pp. 258. 17s. 6d. net.

If it be true, as the poet contends, that " life is just a stuff to try the soul's strength on " then Professor Tadhg O Donnchadha should be an extremely satisfied man. For through half a century and more of change and conflict he has never allowed himself to be deflected from a great purpose. While still a youth he vowed his services, in the spirit of the mediaeval knight, to Mother Éire. If on the altar of sacrifice he placed the pen rather than the sword, that was with full deliberation, in the conviction that nothing less than the heroic wielding of the pen could save a national treasure of supreme importance—the Irish language—for posterity. His first article appeared in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* of March 1896. In the years that have elapsed since then he has published nearly 300 original poems, about half that number translated from the German, over 100 translated from the Welsh, and a further batch from Old and Middle Irish, Scots Gaelic and French. His writings in prose have been on the same lavish scale ; and yet he found time not merely to conduct his University classes, but to edit manuscripts and to publish books. Here indeed is the happiest of alliances between talent and industry. A scholar of wide and generous culture, a patriot to the inmost kernel of his being, a teacher respected and loved, a patron of every high and noble cause, Professor O Donnchadha richly deserves this tribute to his work on his retirement from the Chair of Irish in University College, Cork.

The essays and studies contributed by prominent scholars number 26 in all. Pride of place is given naturally to the native tongue. Reverend Professor O Floinn therefore heads the list with an Irish sermon composed, he states, in Rosscarbery, West Cork, in the 18th century. Its subject is the love of God ; it was written down apparently in " Roman " script and in a weird phonetic spelling which has fortunately found few imitators. Another sermon of about the same period, but this time in Manx, is edited and translated by Professor Séamas Kavanagh. Folklore is represented by Séan O Súilleabháin, the distinguished archivist of the Folklore Institute, and by Gerard Murphy. Professor Bergin and Fr. McKenna edit interesting bardic poems ; while Professor Lloyd-Jones and Reverend Professor Shaw deal with some linguistic questions of Welsh and Early Irish. Professor O Ríordáin discusses the origin of the Celtic cross ; Dr. Raftery and M. O Seaghdha other problems of archaeology. James E. Handley treats of Gaelic culture in Scotland ; Reverend Professor Felim O Briain of Irish hagiography ; Professor Fleischmann of Irish Music.

More than half of the volume is devoted to Irish history. Mr. Pender's article on the expulsion of the Dési has reference to an event of the fifth century A.D. or earlier. Mediaeval monasteries in Cork and a Norman manor in the same county

are dealt with by Denis O Sullivan and John T. Collins. Professor James Hogan has a fascinating theme in the visit of Shane O Neill to Queen Elizabeth's court. A valuable genealogical table shows incidentally that Shane and Silken Thomas Fitzgerald were second cousins. Hardly less exciting is Dr. B. G. MacCarthy's article on Rosa O Toole, wife of the redoubtable Fiach Mac Hugh O Byrne, a lady unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the English, who sentenced her to death by being burnt alive ! Dr. Hayes-McCoy edits a contemporary account of the Battle of Benburb. Professor Dudley Edwards discusses the influence of the Young Irelanders on the growth of the idea of nationality. Articles on the " Dublin Annals of Inisfallen " (Cormac O Cuilleanáin) and the bounds and extent of Irish parishes (Canon P. Power) complete this section.

A special word of praise is due to Mr. Séamas Pender for having overcome disappointments and obstacles and produced this splendid volume in such difficult times. Very meritorious likewise is Diarmuid O h-Ealuighthe's exhaustive catalogue of Professor O Donnchadha's writings. It is by these that Torna will live ; but the Féilscríbhinn, too, a labour of love to all who contributed to its making, will be an added emerald in his crown.

J. R.

CLASSICS

PLATO'S THEORY OF MAN. By John Wild. Harvard : University Press. London : Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1946. $5 or 28s. net.

MOST of the credit for the great progress made during the past generation in Platonic studies must go to professional philosophers like Taylor and Field, although at least one great classical scholar, F. M. Cornford, atoned for the exuberance of his youthful works on Thucydides and on the origins of Comedy by his profound and penetrating interpretations of the difficult later dialogues. The book under review is a substantial as well as original contribution towards a full grasp of the significance of Plato's teaching. Its author is once more a professional philosopher, and he brings to his task of expounding the anthropological doctrine of the dialogues another most important qualification : he has a sound view of the real relation between Plato and Aristotle and of the continuity between *Phaedo* and *The Republic* and the great realist tradition of medieval philosophy.

This is in itself sufficient of a virtue to make *Plato's Theory of Man* worthy of special attention. As Mr. Wild points out in his preface, Platonic scholarship has until quite recently been dominated by the notion of a gulf between Plato and Aristotle. This notion had its origin in excessive concentration on the " theory of ideas " and on Aristotle's critique of its earlier phases. Its ultimate source was the subjectivist trend of modern German idealism, and this in turn sprang from the Cartesian revolution which broke so disastrously with the classical tradition. During the present century, three very different movements have turned philosophy back towards its ancient way. These are neo-Thomism, Bergson's " philosophy of change," and the German *Existenzphilosophie* whose recent French offshoot has become a minor intellectual fashion. As a result of these convergent movements, metaphysics, which Kant was supposed to have killed, has been restored to life ; and idealism, once all-powerful, has been driven from the field.

" There is only one realistic metaphysics," says Mr. Wild, " which can be genuinely opposed to the fantastic systems of German idealism, and that is the metaphysics partly formulated by Aristotle." While the study and revitalisation of this realist tradition is well under way both in England and in America, " there is one phase of classical thought as a whole that is as yet strangely undeveloped. This is what we must call, for want of a better term, *the philosophy of culture.*" Mr. Wild

maintains that the elements of such a traditional philosophy " dealing theoretically with a *practical* object, the proper ordering of human life as a whole," are to be found in Plato's incomparable dialogues. In his view, neo-Scholasticism does not clearly answer the questions arising out of this problem, especially those relating to the nature of culture, the hierarchical order necessary for its maintenance and the causes for the inversion of it which leads to barbarism.

It is this lack of any practical synthesis of a philosophy of culture which Mr. Wild believes has been responsible for the weakness of the modern secular world in face of the two great systems, Fascism and Communism, both of them derived from the idealist inversion. He is thus a severe critic of the neo-Thomist movement, and particularly of M. Maritain's distinction between " person " and " individual," in which he sees a dangerous Cartesian intrusion. Hegel, by means of the " theory of ideas," took over Plato as a forerunner of his own system, while dismissing Aristotle as " an antiquated dogmatist with outmoded biological prejudices". In reality, as was clearly seen by the later philosophers of antiquity and by the great medieval thinkers, Plato's exoteric writings are directed towards the synthetic and practical part of the philosopher's task, Aristotle's scholastic lectures towards the abstract, analytical and theoretical portion of the same task conceived in the same way. We turn to the latter for the theoretical truth concerning being. We *ought* to turn to the former for prophetic inspiration and practical guidance in the confused flux of concrete history.

It is obvious that when thus presented for our attention as a practical introduction to the *philosophia perennis*, Plato's dialogues take on a totally new value. Mr. Wild proceeds to lead his readers through the greater part of the Platonic *corpus*, demonstrating as he goes the immense relevance of Plato's teaching to all our present-day cultural and political problems. He begins with the human arts and their " inversions," having first shown the capital importance of this latter concept. The contrast between art and inversion is first clearly set forth in *Gorgias* and runs from there right through all Plato's work. From this we move on to *The Republic*, and here an especially penetrating chapter is devoted to the images of the Cave and the Divided Line and their relation.

The object all through is to expound Plato's thought in an orderly fashion as an *itinerarium mentis naturalis in Deum*. From the arts and their inversion we rise to knowledge and its inversion and finally to the supreme knowledge of Being, the faculties by which we reach it, and the contrast between the philosopher and the sophist. The last three chapters, devoted to these themes, make a very illuminating commentary on *Parmenides*, *Theaetetus*, and *The Sophist*. While drawing heavily on Cornford's expositions of these dialogues, Mr. Wild is able to fit them perfectly into his own scheme. In the case of *Parmenides* he seems to have made a considerable advance even on Cornford and to have provided the final explanation of this very difficult dialogue. The contrast between his discussion of it and such a comparatively recent effort as that of Taylor in his *Plato : The Man and His Work* is very striking indeed, and this chapter alone is sufficient to give permanent value to Mr. Wild's book. M. T.

Politics and History

WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By John Bowle. London : Jonathan Cape. 1947. 21s. net.

Histories of political thought are numerous, but for the most part they deal with the subject from the side of theory. Mr. Bowle rightly thinks that there is room for a book describing " the main evolution of Western political thought in its historical

context". The dangers of an historical as contrasted with a philosophical treatment are obvious. If the relation of political ideas to historical circumstances is over-emphasised, there results a relativist attitude—*Historicism*—as if it were idle in these matters to look for any absolute truth. Mr. Bowle as a rule avoids this pitfall. Occasionally he seems to fall into another, as when he over-emphasises the lessons to be drawn from our meagre and purely inferential knowledge of primitive societies—the lessons of prehistory. Surely these lessons can be learned, if at all, nearer home. This volume deals with the history of political theory from the origins to Rousseau and is to be followed by a second volume dealing with the later period.

The most satisfactory part of the book is that which deals with the evolution of English political thought. Here the author is on familiar ground and can deal directly with the sources. Where he has to take his information at second hand, as in the medieval and, in part, the renaissance periods, he is less satisfactory. He attempts no detailed account of medieval political theory, confining himself to a few of the outstanding thinkers. Of St. Thomas he is appreciative, but the account of his theories is obviously not based on direct acquaintance and is both slight and inaccurate. It is, perhaps, something that he is impressed, as he obviously seems to be, by the vastness and scope of Thomistic speculation, that he has surveyed the structure even from outside, and that he has made some cautious, though unsuccessful, attempts to penetrate within. But the student who wants definite and detailed information is not likely to find it here.

The account of Marsilius of Padua is slightly better. Of Ockham nothing is said. There is a reference in a footnote to J. de Lagarde's admirable volumes on the later Middle Ages, but the author seems to have made no use of them. Misprints, which are much too numerous throughout, are particularly bad in the Latin quotations from Marsilius. Of the political writings of the sixteenth century little is said. There is a passing reference to Mariana, Bellarmine and Suarez which is very inaccurate. "Thus the Jesuits," we are told, "in their rehabilitation of papal authority, take the old view that secular government is non-moral and incapable of commanding a spirtual loyalty unless it is sanctified by the approval of the Church." This is quite ludicrous as an account of these theories which, particularly in the case of Bellarmine, had enormous contemporary influence. Where religious and theological problems are discussed the author, naturally enough, takes the usual English protestant line. On these problems one cannot help feeling that either not enough is said or too much.

No doubt political speculation is greatly influenced by the historical environment in which it emerges. But the student has to be extremely cautious in accepting judgments of an ethical or theological type from the historian. Pure history is a factual study. It is of great value in enabling the student to realise how particular political problems arose, but it gives us no clue to the value of the suggested solutions. The historian has his own scheme of ideas and he is apt to use them as an absolute criterion. There is a fatal superficiality in many of Mr. Bowle's conclusions.

D. O'K.

THE IRISH IN MODERN SCOTLAND. By James Edmund Handley. Cork University Press. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1947. 17s. 6d. and 12s. 6d.

DR. HANDLEY'S book with the same title, published some years ago, dealt with the period 1798 to 1845; in this volume he continues the story of the Irish in Scotland down to the present day. It is a comprehensive work in what is to a large extent an untilled field, and the labour spent on its production is reflected in its imposing bibliography. Original manuscripts, Blue Books, rare old newspapers and periodicals, official reports of the most diverse character, as well as personal reminiscences of various friends, have been availed of by the writer.

After an adequate summary of the causes which led up to the great Famine, Dr. Handley gives a harrowing account of the sufferings endured by the emigrants who sought refuge in Scotland from the horrors at home. Between 1846 and 1850 they arrived penniless and ragged to the number of one hundred thousand, and were huddled together in the tenements and stables of lanes and courts in Glasgow, Edinburgh and other Scottish towns. In these dens typhus and cholera were rampant and caused a heavy mortality among them. Their wretched condition was accentuated by the racial and religious prejudice of the Scottish classes generally and by continuous complaints of the financial burden which the maintenance of a considerable number of them placed on the local authorities. After many vicissitudes the circumstances of the immigrants had somewhat improved by 1851, when they established a newspaper, the *Free Press*, to advocate their social and political rights and to combat the animosity surrounding them. Some hostility was shown towards them, too, even by Scottish Catholics, clerical and lay, who were of a different religious temperament and a different political outlook, and it led to much recrimination and many bitter controversies.

A vivid account of the daily life and work of the temporary immigrant harvesters in Scotland makes an interesting chapter of this book. Official statistics of their varying numbers from year to year show how these were affected by the increasing use of the reaping machine, the extended employment of self-binders, and by other innovations. There is much information, too, regarding their housing conditions, their rates of pay and the average amount of their savings. And it is pleasant to read of the bye-laws made by many Scottish counties to ensure the health and comfort and safety of the harvesters during their temporary sojourn.

The permanent Irish settlers in Scotland and their descendants have always shown a lively interest in the old country. During the past century generous aid has been given by them to every movement for its betterment. In recent times, though slow to abandon Parliamentarianism for the new movement of Sinn Fein, they contributed very material assistance during the Anglo-Irish war that ended in the establishment of an Irish State. In this connection it is interesting to read their newspaper's account, forty years ago, of a visit of Arthur Griffith to place his policy before the Glasgow Irish. The journal, though apparently not favourable to the new ideas, describes him as " a good-looking, modest-looking, clever-looking man—he is not an orator and makes no attempt at rhetorical effect, but he has something to say and it is worthy of attention".

In this authoritative work Dr. Handley has made a solid contribution to a phase of Irish social and economic history, and has shown in its pages a thoroughness in research which is its outstanding characteristic. R. H.

Philosophy

THE EXISTENCE OF GOD. A Thomist Essay. By Dom Mark Pontifex. London: Longmans. 1947. 7s. 6d.

This Essay succeeds in packing into a small compass a considerable range of philosophical discussion. It is informal and direct, going straight to the central problems, stating the difficulties boldly and offering solutions of them without unnecessary introduction and explanations.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading, as only a short section is taken up with the arguments for the existence of God. It is mostly concerned with explanation and discussion of the central notions and problems in Thomist metaphysics.

The arguments for the existence of God are drawn from the fact of change and the existence of finite things. The author states these arguments in his own way,

and is not claiming to expound literally the arguments used by St. Thomas. Having proved the existence of God, he re-interprets the fundamental questions of philosophy in the light of that conclusion. The ' transcendental ' concepts—being, one, true, good—are examined. The question of the nature of our knowledge of God, including the problem of analogical knowledge, is treated at length. In the chapter on God and creatures the important problems, how can finite things exist which are distinct from God and how is creation compatible with changelessness in God, are stated and discussed very clearly. The problem of free will, from the metaphysical point of view, is deeply probed, but probably not all would be satisfied with the solution given. The difficult problem of evil is well handled. The discussions on knowledge, certainty, and ethical principles are less satisfactory, these subjects being too vast for such a summary treatment.

This Essay, although not as satisfying as a systematic treatise, is a fresh and stimulating discussion, opening up a rich vein of Thomist metaphysics.

J. S.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY. By A. H. Armstrong. London : Methuen. 1947. 15s.

SINCE the supernatural in general is an elevation of the natural we should expect the truths of revelation to be an extension, impossible to natural reason, of the truths ascertainable by natural reason. The Greek philosophers are thus important to Christian apologetics by being evidently unbiased witnesses to the natural truths of Christianity. It is not true that the mediaeval Scholastics distorted Greek thought, at least deliberately and seriously, to make it appear to anticipate Christianity. It really did anticipate Christianity in important ways, and the work of the Scholastics was simply to disengage its truth from its error without distorting the parts that they accepted. Until recently we have lacked a book in English that will describe the development of Greek thought with the right emphasis on its central tradition, the core of truth that was later to be embodied in Scholasticism. Instead we have had books by classical scholars that have studied the Greek philosophers as men of their time rather than of all time, or by non-Catholic philosophers who are interested in the Greeks chiefly as witnesses to their own errors.

Within the past two years, however, two admirable works have each adequately fulfilled this need : Fr. Copleston's first volume of his *History of Philosophy* and this book of Mr. Armstrong's. By reason of its abundant references and scholarly discussion of disputed points Fr. Copleston's book best serves its own chief purpose, as a text-book for seminaries and serious students. Both books can be recommended to the general reader. But here Mr. Armstrong has certain advantages. He includes St. Augustine in his volume, breaking off where the Dark Ages imposed a real break. His opinions are rather more conservative and, in controversial matters, more firm and resolute ; for scholarly suspensions of judgment are apt to baffle the general reader. For example Fr. Copleston, like Fr. Festugière, inclines to the opinion that Plato considered all the Forms as different aspects of a single Divine Being, thus approximating Platonism to Scholastic exemplarism. Mr. Armstrong holds strongly to the older view that, according to Plato, the world is governed by a committee of Forms under the Good as chairman, whose laws are written on their faces and whose agent is the Demiurge. He will not even admit that Plato was a monotheist at all in any true sense. Let us add that Mr. Armstrong has a clear, compact style which, though generally stern, is often lit by flashes of robust humour.

To deal with Mr. Armstrong's book in itself it must be said that it covers the ground extremely well. Almost nothing important needs to be added to it except perhaps a page on the Gnostics. He does not treat Neopythagoreanism and Apollonius of Tyana either, but we can spare these. Everywhere he shows that he has read

his authors and is not echoing the views of other scholars. Hardly anywhere can he be convicted of a mistake. Nevertheless he does say that almost nothing of Iamblichus survives and leaves himself open to the crushing reply of having the volume of Iamblichus's remains dropped on his foot. And when he purports to give Aristotle's thought in the words " images differ from sensations in being entirely in the mind," one can only infer that the sentence was written very, very late at night. It is not perhaps fair to single out these two slips, for Mr. Armstrong shows himself in this book (witness his clear, coherent, penetrating, and correct account of Aristotle) to be as competent in this field as he did in his book on Plotinus and even more capable now than then of grasping the essentials of a system of philosophy out of a welter of details.

We must, however, mention one or two disputed points in which he seems ruthlessly to disregard the controversy. Thus the only influence on Pythagoras that he admits is that of the Orphics. Doubtless it was this influence that gave inspiration, the sense of a crusade, to the philosophic quest. But more important for the development of rational philosophy was the influence of the Milesians, who in working on the problem of the One and the Many by investigating the unity of a diverse world, did from the beginning influence not only Pythagorean but even Christian philosophy. Again an examination of Anaxagoras's famous fragment will hardly bear out the view that he conceived Mind as substantially composed of matter, though it was probably material in its dependence in operation on matter. It can also be contended that Democritus did not ignore Parmenides. His doctrine of the homogeneity of the atoms seems to have been an attempt, however inept, to explain the unity of the world in multiplicity. The one somewhat shocking statement in the book is that St. Thomas found his doctrine of the principle of individuation " awkward". Subtle and complicated it is, but not awkward. Nothing in St. Thomas is awkward except to his adversaries.

But disagreement on these and other such points of detail should not affect the verdict that this is a highly valuable book. A. L.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION. Volume XXI. Twenty-first Annual Meeting, December 1946, held at Toronto, Canada. Edited by Charles A. Hart. Catholic University of America. 1947. Two Dollars.

THE central theme of the papers and discussions at this meeting was the primacy of existence over essence in the philosophy of St. Thomas; his philosophy is an existentialism, as opposed to an essentialism. The opening paper by Professor Gilson " Existence and Philosophy," gives a masterly survey of the problem in the history of philosophy. Most systems of philosophy had been satisfied with the point of view of essence; some, such as Plato, Plotinus, Eriugena, had pressed on to something beyond essence but could give no account of this. The option had been between philosophies without existence and existence without philosophy. The satisfactory solution was achieved by St. Thomas; but his doctrine has often been misunderstood by his followers, and he has had many commentators but few imitators. The Presidential Address by Dr. A. Pegis, " The Middle Ages and Philosophy," points out the advantages of re-study of medieval philosophy in its sources, and warns against the danger of merely reporting systems of philosophy (including the philosophy of St. Thomas) instead of re-thinking them. A fine paper by Dr. G. Phelan brings out the true character of the existentialism of St. Thomas as compared with current systems passing under that name. The primacy of *esse* over *essentia* brings with it the primacy of judgment over concept: this is brought out in valuable papers by Frs. R. J. Henle (" Existentialism and the Judgment ") and F. C. Wade (" The Judgment of Existence "). The doctrine of the real distinction

of essence and existence in St. Thomas is expounded in a paper by Fr. Renard, showing also its application in the order of living things ; and in a well-documented paper (" The Realism of St. Thomas ") by K. K. Payzs. The problem is treated from the historical point of view in a learned paper by Dr. E. Kilzer (" The Modes of Existence ").

Round Table discussions dealt with the questions of the formal object of Logic, the Laws of Thought, the metaphysics of knowledge, the notion of Being in William of Auvergne, and the distinction of Being and Essence in an Aristotelian text. Another series of Round Table discussions dealt with questions of Ethics and Philosophy of Society, including papers on the Human Person in Political Philosophy and the Challenge to Scholastic Legal Philosophy in a Revolutionary Age. J. S.

MORAL THEOLOGY

PRINCIPES DE MORALE. Par Dom Odon Lottin. Louvain : Abbaye du Mont César. 1947. Tome I 225 frcs. Tome II 175 frcs.

A COMMISSION of Uno has been drawing up a " Declaration of the Rights of Man " during the past year. It is reported that it has produced a draft, by an incredible and unworthy series of compromises, which does not contain the name of God. It is an old past-time of mankind, pursued from the highest motives and with the best intentions, but singularly ineffective in changing the course of history. It would be better if a similar commission drafted a Declaration of the Duties of Man and secured its substantial observance among and within nations : the Rights of Man could then look after themselves and would have much more real meaning and influence on human life.

The Church has always accepted, as part of its teaching commission, the task of preaching, *opportune, importune,* the duties of man. It has, in actual historical fact, been by far the most courageous and the most successful defender of the Rights of Man and their ablest, wisest and most insistent declarer. But it has always felt that the surest way of defending the rights of man was to teach man to know and fulfil his duties to God, to himself, and to his neighbour. As a result of this preoccupation with human moral obligation, the Church has produced an immense and glorious *corpus* of scientific doctrine on moral questions, unsurpassed in its wisdom, depth, subtlety and precision. Dom Lottin's two volumes are but the latest contribution to this great literature, as they are but the latest of a long series of works on moral questions already published by the author. And it may be said at once that they display in an eminent fashion, the four above-mentioned qualities.

There is a refreshing novelty in Dom Lottin's plan. First, it is executed in the vernacular, in French and not in Latin : secondly, it is conceived as a double approach. The first volume is a rigidly scientific exposition of the traditional " fundamental moral theology " of the School : the second is a collection of brilliant essays on special problems met with in this subject. Some of these are a further elaboration of doctrinal points ; some are of a more historical character, dealing chiefly with Dom Lottin's own special period of study, the XII and XIII centuries.

It was said of Mr. H. H. Asquith that he always judged the intellectual power of a man by his ability to grasp the convincing nature of the arguments for Free Trade. The position taken up by an author on the question of " probablism " is similar and still more revealing touchstone. Dom Lottin stands high by the manner in which he overcomes this ordeal. " Par quel principe puis-je, malgré le doute concernant l'obligation objective, arriver à une certitude pratique au sujet de l'obligation de conscience ? " So the author poses the question ; and he answers it by a principle drawn from St. Thomas : " Nullus ligatur per praeceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius praecepti." He admits, of course, that doubt is not ignorance ; but " quelle que soit la difference qui sépare le doute positif de l'ignorance invincible,

ces deux états d'âme ont pratiquement un même effet commun, celui de faire en sorte qu'on ne sache pas . . . Dans les deux cas, il manque à l'agent moral cette " *scientia praecepti,*" indispensable d'après saint Thomas et le bon sens pour que la loi oblige le sujet."

Dom Lottin is very fair in examining the positions of the opponents of " probablism". But he cannot accept their arguments. There is one touch of impatience, barely a hint, when he is dealing with the system of " compensation," as it is called. And the present reviewer cannot find it in his heart to blame him for that slight gesture : "Le principe de compensation ne peut donc limiter l'usage du principe général : une obligation objectivement douteuse est une obligation subjectivement nulle."

Nor does St. Alphonsus's final position satisfy Dom Lottin : whether the objective doubt touches the existence of the obligation or its cessation, probablism is true and valid.

The same surety of touch and rigid adherence to clearly perceived principles characterizes the author's treatment of the cause with a double effect. He joins issue, in a long foot-note on page 197, with P. Prümmer's doctrine in his well-known and much used text-book. He adds, too, in his second volume two model little essays on the analysis of human acts underlying this " double-effect " doctrine.

It happened that the present reviewer was reading Pascal's *Lettres à un Provincial* at the same time as Dom Lottin's work. The only explanation, apart from a purely literary one, why Pascal achieved such fame by this work of his seems to be that his readers were completely at sea in matters of moral theology. As Belloc has pointed out in *Studies* some years ago, Pascal's attacks on " Jesuit casuistry " read to-day like some childish misunderstandings by a person out of his depth in some specialized department of knowledge. Every page of Dom Lottin's book contains some principle or other that Pascal, implicitly at least, mocked at. *Magna est veritas et praevalebit.*

E. J. C.

German Science in Second World War

GERMAN RESEARCH IN WORLD WAR II. By Leslie E. Simon. New York : Wiley. London : Chapman & Hall. Pp. xi + 218. Illustrations. 24s.

The author of this book, a colonel in the American army and director of the U.S. Ballistic Research Laboratories during the war, was one of a number of specialists sent to Europe just before the German surrender to study Nazi scientific establishments immediately after their capture and to obtain information about apparatus and equipment—information of general value as well as information of use to the Allies in the remainder of the war. Colonel Simon has already recorded the yield of technical information in a government report. In the present publication he presents a semi-popular account of what he found out. It should be of interest to a wide circle of people.

Simon arrived in Germany with definite questions in his mind. He was curious to learn in what way the Germans got the product of research quickly into use, how they bridged the gap between research and production, just how extensive was their research and to what extent was it organised for war. He is satisfied that he obtained integral answers to these questions. He regards German research on war weapons as a completed experiment which can now be fairly studied and evaluated. Its successes and failures can be recognised and traced to their root cause. The purpose of such study is not belittling criticism. The object is to adopt and adapt German research methods in so far as they proved successful, and learn from the failures what to avoid. Like the Romans of old, Americans see the wisdom of learning from the enemy.

Simon's study has some of the quality of Teutonic thoroughness but without

its heaviness. He begins by pointing out that haphazard invention is a thing of the past and that in the evolution of a new article or weapon to-day there are four major stages. These are denoted by the terms : basic or fundamental research, technical research, design and development. The first is the province of the scientist, the third and fourth of the engineer, and the second is mixed. A major stage may be further subdivided. For instance design, which has to do with drawings, tolerances, strength of materials and chemistry, may be prototype or for production. Simon tries to estimate the value of German war research at each major step. He first outlines the structure of Nazi research. Under the heads of civilian, industrial and military groups, the organizations engaged in war research are enumerated and described.

Simon finds three weaknesses in German research. First, time was wasted on stop-gap inventions. Second, the Germans had an inadequate development programme. They had no systematic scheme of fundamental problems, the solution of which would promote speedy technical research in fields where it was likely that development would be necessary in the near future. The third and chief defect was the lack of proper understanding between the army and research bodies. The military, especially the ground forces—the air forces, thanks to a single man, the great organizer Bäumker, showed themselves more progressive—were unable to evaluate and then promote or reject the projects of civilian scientists. This was the leading reason for the failure of German science in the war. Again, the Germans were too slow to question established practices concerning organization. Our author notes the excellence of the Germans in things mechanical and in the art of using them, but time after time he came across finely made instruments which showed poor design. At the proving-ground of the army he saw instruments which were the best made in the world, but they were of obsolete design. There were no modern electronic instruments which are essential for swift and precise measurements of ballistic phenomena. Likewise development was defective. Tests were made under officers who simply obeyed written orders. The findings were then sent to men who had not witnessed the tests. This was bad for development.

In spite of their global failure, the Germans did important new work in ballistics, fire control and aerodynamics. The author considers at some length the field in which he thinks they were outstanding, the field of rocket weapons and jet-propelled engines. He gives an account of other interesting topics, such as the wind-gun which fired a plug of air at aircraft ; the super-gun—the most spectacular gun developed by Germany—designed to fire an arrow projectile eighty miles across the Channel at London ; the bent-barrel gun which was no freak but an effective defence weapon for tank crews ; wind tunnels, aircraft armament, and—believe it or not—sound as a weapon.

Some of these weapons were undoubtedly inspired by the German love of the spectacular, as instinctive in the Teuton as the spirit of Tammanyism is reputed to be in ourselves. Simon remarks that the Germans have never been able to refrain from showing off, from trying to astound or arouse the admiration of the enemy. The use of the Paris gun in the first world war is a classic instance. The life of the gun was extremely short. The Germans could not possibly hope to inflict a loss on the enemy nearly commensurate with the cost of sending the shells from the firing place to Paris. Many of the new German weapons in the second world war appear to have been inspired by the same motive, particularly the " V " weapons.

Part of the author's aim is to present German research on war weapons as an experiment for examination by those who have an interest in scientific method and in the fundamentals which underlie and affect the fruitfulness of all research, no matter what its nature. For this reason his book should make appeal to persons on the staff of our universities who are at present asking themselves questions about the true function and place of academic research.

P. J. McL.

Varia

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY. By Olga Lang. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1947. 4 dollars (22s.).

To making books on China there is no end to-day. Hence the would-be purchaser should pause three times before making his selection. A closer bond has been established between America and China than between China and any other foreign power. This has largely arisen from the fact that America handed back to China, in the form of educational scholarships, the indemnity exacted for Boxer destruction. Since 1907 there has been a steady stream of students to America, of whom many have risen to posts of importance in the work of re-construction of the country. It was due to their influence, no doubt, that John Dewey, the materialistic educator of Chicago, was invited to supervise the new educational programme.

Miss Lang's book belongs to the serious and scholarly type of books whose authors pay heed to the warning of Confucius: "If you visit a foreign State, ask what the prohibitions are; and if you go into a stranger's country, acquaint yourself with the manners and customs of the stranger." It is an important book, in as much as it is sponsored by the *International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations*; and it is likely to find its place on the bookshelves of those who are interested in questions of international understanding and world peace. The opening sentence of her Preface is the key to her book: "Three problems which have challenged modern sociologists determined my choice of the contemporary Chinese family as the subject of this book: the problem of China, the problem of the family, and the problem of cultural change." As the family tradition is the strongest of social units in China, she has gone to considerable pains to gather up any fragment of information bearing on it. Successive chapters, *Functions and Structure of the Family, Relationships Within the Family, Love, Marriage, Divorce, Women, Children*, etc., show that her field of investigation has been very inclusive; and a reader in search of details and points of view characteristic of Chinese life will not be disappointed. Yet, in spite of this conscientious labour, one who, as the reviewer, has spent twenty years in close touch with the Chinese, will lay down the book disappointed that, whilst enriched with quantative statistics, the inner quality of the soul has not been reached. In a memorial to the Throne, at the end of the last century, a mandarin, Wu Ko tu, wrote: "Foreigners have made some scores of treaties with China, containing at least ten thousand written characters. Is there in any of them a word concerning reverence for parents, or the cultivation of virtue and respect for the nine canons of rightful conduct? No! Is there a word in any of them as to the observance of ceremony, as to duty, integrity, and a proper sense of shame, the four cardinal principles of our nation? Again, no! All that they speak of is material profit . . . They think only of profit, and with the meretricious hope of profit, they beguile the Chinese people."

Miss Lang studied at the Universities of Leningrad and Moscow; she also lived for some years in Berlin. Now, it seems to us that such a background, far from helping her analysis of China, as the dust-cover suggests it does, is rather an obstacle. It creates an outlook on life, supplies a scale of values, different from those of China and not calculated, as our Western politics show, to enhance either family or social ideals. Thus on p. 72 she writes: "For all progressive features, the new village schools are by no means perfectly modern institutions . . . The textbooks stop short of advocating the complete reconstruction of Chinese life on the Western pattern."—(Incidentally, the League of Nations Experts, invited in 1931 to report on Educational Methods in China, deprecated "the formal imitation of the methods and substance of foreign civilisations," *Report* p. 24). Similarly, when recording advance civilization in village life, the standard of progress is the introduction of the

Western tool. After all we can have no assurance that the plutocrat in his motor is happier and better than the peasant in his ass-cart. The well-known sociologist R. H. Tawney, in his *Land and Labour in China*, sums up this attitude pointedly : " Much talk about the Westernisation of China is remote from realities. It is a kind of incantation, which proceeds not only from foreigners, but occasionally from Chinese themselves . . . The machinery is useless or destructive in the absence of a philosophy of life to control and direct it. The West staggers blindly for the lack of one . . . Thus the imitation of America or Europe, which has profoundly influenced Chinese education, offers no solution of the deeper problems of China."

If Miss Lang had penetrated deeper into the history of spiritual needs and Catholic missionary progress, she would not have written : " The fight of the Christian churches against the influences of the family has been one of the main barriers to the spread of Christianity in China." One asks what she means by the Christian " churches " and what aspect of family influence have they fought. She admits herself that she has little knowledge of the Catholic effort, which indeed is clear from the fact that on p. 78 she says : " the first Catholic converts appeared in China in the 16th century ". Evidently she knows nothing of John of Montecorvino, who wrote in 1306 : " I am old and grey, more from toil and trouble than from age . . . . I have baptised several thousands, and am now building up a second church within the city, two miles and a half from the first."

In brief, then, there is much factual information in Miss Lang's book ; but when she closes with the remark " The world needs China to develop its civilization to the highest possible level," we begin to wonder what particular aspects of Chinese culture have been outlined in the book as necessary for the development of the West, whose star of progress seems rather to have been indicated as a light for the East.

Mr. Tawney is right. Without a sane philosophy of life there can be no uplifting of man himself. And outside Christianity no such philosophy is to be found.

G. B.

RURAL LIFE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Five regional studies made for the Northern Ireland Council of Social Service (Inc.). By John M. Mogey, M.A. Oxford University Press. 1947. 15s.

MR. MOGEY and those who collaborated with him in producing this work deserve our warmest congratulations. It is an admirable example of the results that can be achieved by a combination of field and library work. Five sample areas were studied in detail. The information collected relates to local geographic environment and detailed family records, showing occupational types of household, relationship of members of household, individual and family earnings, population movement, etc. In fact the inquiry was so intimate that one is surprised that " informations were refused " in only a very few cases.

The results of the detailed analyses are then applied, in a general summary, to the area as a whole. One's first reaction on reading this book is : why has something of the kind not been done down here ? One's second most dominant impression about it all is : how very Irish these Northern countrymen of ours really are—but of course Irish with characteristic local differences. The small family farm is even more typical of Northern Irish agriculture than of ours.

Only 17.3 per cent. of Northern farms exceed 50 acres in size as compared with 23.9 per cent. in our case. Only 13,000 farms out of 92,000 in 1944 regularly employed wage labourers—about one-seventh. We have 384,000 agricultural holdings and 50,000 farmers who regularly employ wage-paid labour. Allowing for the usual difference between the number of holdings and the number of farmers, the proportion here appears to be about the same.

In 1937 there were 6.7 workers (persons occupied) per 100 acres of crops and pasture up there. Down here the proportion is 4.5. Apparently employment density is nearly 50 per cent. more in agriculture with them than with us.

The author is greatly impressed by the generally low standard of life that prevails in the rural North : " The problems of raising the purchasing power of the farmer are of greater importance in Northern Ireland than in any other part of the United Kingdom." And yet he estimates sales per acre off the farms in the sample areas ranging from £9.99 in Area 1 Fermanagh to £25.70 in North Down. Even the lowest of these, if applied to our 11 million acres of farm-land, would have suited us nicely in the middle war years to which they relate.

In the North as elsewhere there is plenty of neighbourly friendliness and helpfulness, but a regrettable absence of a local rural community sense. " The rural community in Northern Ireland is fragmented into three main religious groups with many minor churches commanding the allegiance of less than 10 per cent. of the people." Sociologically the distinction between Presbyterian and Church of Ireland Protestant is quite important in the North. The members of these two Churches are about equal to one another and equal to the Roman Catholic minority in numbers. Consequently there is no one really dominant religious organisation which might simplify the problem of local leadership and promote the growth of a rural community sense. Isolation, modified only by family relationships and the social activities promoted by minority churches and sectarian societies, appears to be the dominant characteristic of rural life. A splash of colour and pageantry is introduced into the dull routine of country life in the annual parades of the Orangemen and Hibernians. " These open-air festivals, with colourful banners, drum and fife bands and provocative speech-making are essentially of the same type as the Sunday School picnics of Co. Fermanagh."

Perhaps these functions are an expression of a deep spiritual hunger " for getting together " in reaction from the isolationism which their way of life imposes on them. If that be so, the instinct for a community life is by no means dead—but the problem of sublimating its fragmentary manifestations into something relevant to the rural community as a whole awaits solution. The Young Farmers' Clubs, Women's Institutes, etc., are making some contribution to that end. Mr. Mogey's book contains data which will be invaluable to all social workers in this field. Good luck to them, and may they find many imitators here as well as there.

JOSEPH JOHNSTON

HAMLET WITHOUT TEARS. By I. J. Semper. Dubuque (Iowa) : Loras College Press. 1946. Pp. 107. $1.50.

MR. SEMPER'S title suggests that *Hamlet* is clear and simple if one starts with the right clue ; and he leads us through it, in less than a hundred short pages, on an easy highway built above the morasses where armies whole of critics have sunk. Of course, when we have gone with him, we must still ask ourselves whether we have really seen the country or reached the right destination.

Mr. Semper begins (as, in an afterthought to his great account of the play, Bradley seems to wish *he* had done) with the Ghost. The Ghost is a holy soul come from Purgatory on a mission of divine justice. He enlists his son in this cause. " It is evident," says Mr. Semper boldly enough, " that his (Hamlet's) intention all along was to accuse his uncle of his crimes, give him a chance to defend himself, and then kill him in a fair fight." What then are the obstacles ? The Ghost has mentioned the chief of them : " Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive Against thy mother aught." Hamlet must not kill Claudius in hatred, for that would be mortal sin, but he cannot free his mind from that hatred. Nor must he hate his

mother, but to that he is tempted even more strongly. Beset by these hellish impulses, he can come to suspect the spirit that urged him on of being a devil. The *To be* soliloquy is interpreted by Mr. Semper in terms of theology and of conscientious scruples. Shall Hamlet go on in a pursuit of Claudius which may lead him to his own damnation? But gradually Hamlet comes to terms with his conscience and sees the possibility of putting his hate aside to act as a justicer and not an avenger. The second visitation of the Ghost strengthens his still shaky self-possession. Finally he puts himself into the hands of Divine Providence and is led to the right action. This Hamlet is a Renaissance humanist, " the courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword". But he is no neo-Pagan, but a Catholic with the medieval Catholic tradition behind him. His glorying in man and the universe is not an impious pride of life, but the ancient scholastic optimism, seeing man as a little lower than the angels. His pessimism, which tells him that man is capable of being *a beast, no more*, is equally scholastic. His graveyard musings no more deny the soul's immortality than does the Ash Wednesday warning of the Church, *pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris*. Nor can he be argued a pagan fatalist in the last Act, for it is in the hand of Providence not of Fate that he puts himself, and his most seeming-fatalistic words are quoted from St. Matthew's Gospel.

Mr. Semper writes clearly and forcefully. Some of his points are very well made. Notably, he demonstrates that the Denmark of the play is postulated as a Catholic country. He intervenes, I think decisively, in a discussion arising out of the Ghost scenes and Elizabethan ghost-lore. It has been held by several recent critics that in these scenes Shakespeare is dramatising the views upon ghosts held by his contemporaries of different religions; that the Ghost himself stands for the Catholic view that ghosts come (or, more properly, may come) from Purgatory, while Hamlet represents one Protestant view, that is, that ghosts exist but must come from heaven or hell, and lastly Horatio represents the other Protestant view, complete scepticism. But what an unfair controversy it would have been, with the Catholic champion in the position of a man who bets when he already knows the result! An audience mainly Protestant would hardly endure the confutation of their views and the acknowledgement of defeat by their champions. No controversy must have been intended or seen. The audience was not offended by an honest ghost from Purgatory, because they knew Shakespeare was representing another age and country, a Catholic world of which Purgatory was a part. I think, too, that there is much truth in Mr. Semper's reading of the *To be* soliloquy, where he takes the *conscience* that makes cowards of us all to mean conscience and not, like many commentators, something else.

I think Mr. Semper does well to lay stress upon the Ghost, though I fear he reads this portentous figure rather too simply. No doubt the Ghost of the old play came from a Senecan Hades, thirsting for the satisfaction of blood and of a wild, angry justice. Shakespeare transformed him into a gracious figure, the emissary of justice divine. But is the transformation complete? Mr. Semper, seeking in Catholic tradition for a parallel, a holy soul employed to chastise earthly transgressors, finds but one rather unsatisfactory example. No doubt the purpose of the Ghost is felt, in the long run, to be justice; and he clears himself greatly in the Closet scene. But at the start he has sinister as well as reassuring accompaniments; Mr. Semper is driven very hard to explain away the Cellarage episode. It seems to me that Shakespeare is carefully poising his Ghost between the holy soul, agent of justice, and the Senecan revenger from Hades. The ambiguity gives him just the sort of task he wants for Hamlet, the task which on one side looks like duty and on the other side like crime. The device will not perhaps bear the closest scrutiny, and it is one which Shakespeare would hardly have had recourse to in his later tragedies.

J. J. H.

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1947-48

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.

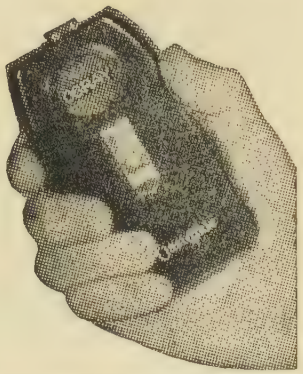
GIVE HIM Wolsey SOCKS

Choice of Ribbed and Plain.
Fine, Medium and Heavy.

Advertisement of Sunbeam Wolsey Ltd., Cork.

Good News for the

DEAF . . .



THE
WORLD FAMOUS
OSRAY RANGE OF
HEARING AIDS NOW
AVAILABLE IN IRELAND

★ "OSRAY" R.P. 9 means hearing at its best. Three New Type 10 m.m. Valves, Piezo-Electric Crystal Wide Range Microphone. Volume Control and Batteries all contained **in one small Vest Pocket Size Case.** Only one Cord to interchangeable bone conductor, miniature or disc earpiece. Amazing Power. Ideal for Church, Theatre, Cinema, Meetings, and all purposes. L.T. battery, small single cell. Running costs infinitesimal.

OssiCaide (Ireland)

Permanent Office — **19 HUME STREET DUBLIN**

In association with OSSICAIDE, 1 Suffolk Hall, Putney, London, also at Kensington and Manchester. Agents throughout the world.

JACKSON STOPS & McCABE

(ARTHUR W. McCABE, F.A.I., M.I.A.A.)

Auctioneers, Valuers and Estate Agents

AUCTION AND PRIVATE TREATY SALES OF ALL CLASSES OF PROPERTY, FURNITURE, FARMS AND LIVE STOCK, CARRIED OUT IN ANY PART OF EIRE

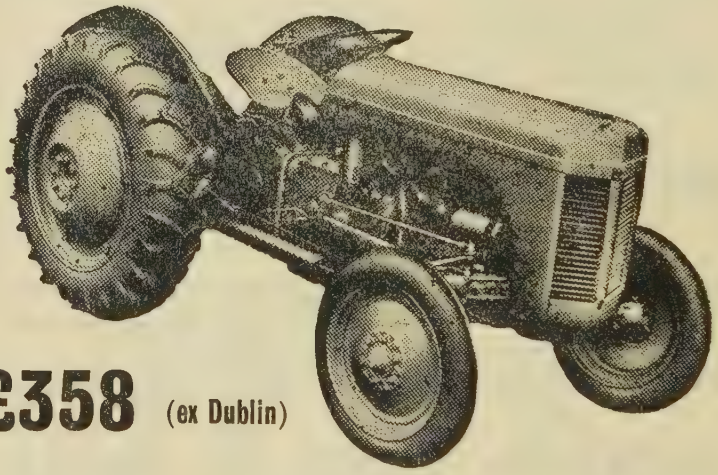
Telephone No. 77601 (2 lines)

COLLEGE GREEN - DUBLIN

For Farming Progress

use

the ***Ferguson*** *System*



£358 (ex Dublin)

LEADER IN PERFORMANCE
EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY

FERGUSON SYSTEM

EARLY DELIVERY

Ferguson Ltd.

134 LOWER BAGGOT STREET
DUBLIN

Phone 62731 and 62732 *'Grams: "Diligent"*

RESTAURANT JAMMET

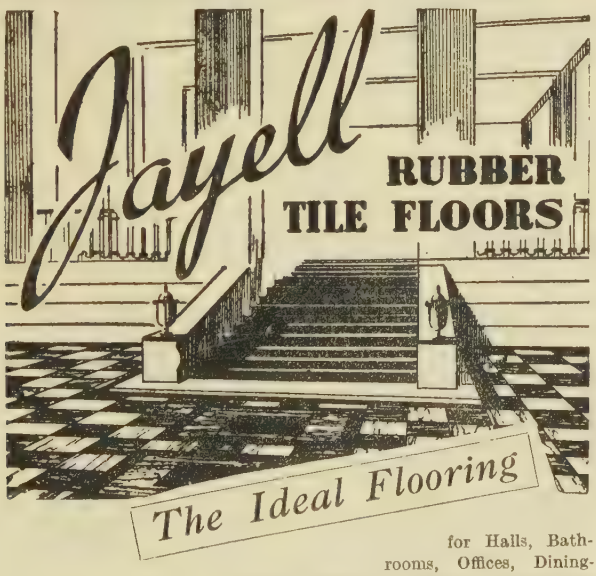
Cuisine Francaise

Luncheon Bar, Grill Room, Smoke Room

at Adam Court

(off GRAFTON STREET)

45-46 NASSAU STREET, DUBLIN



for Halls, Bathrooms, Offices, Dining-rooms, Convents, Colleges, Institutions, Churches, Oratories, etc. In range of 20 colours, plain and marbled patterns. Sole Importers for Eire

LYNCH BROS. LTD.

27 DENZILLE LANE, DUBLIN.

FURNITURE
. of .
DISTINCTION

NEW, SECOND-HAND, ANTIQUE
AT MOST MODERATE PRICES

LAWLOR, BRISCOE & CO. Ltd.
M.I.A.A.
34 & 35 LOWER ORMOND QUAY
DUBLIN

The
Catholic Charities Review

A Monthly Magazine which discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION FIVE SHILLINGS

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 77770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: :.

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

THE NEED STILL EXISTS
TO SOW GOOD SEEDS

ROWANS

"Fulcrop" Seeds are Good Seeds,
and such as will ensure
BOUNTIFUL RESULTS

New Seasons Catalogue of Vegetable and Flower Seeds, and Garden Sundries presented or posted free on request.

M. ROWAN & CO., LTD.,
The "House of Rowan"
SEED GROWERS & SEED MERCHANTS
51-52 CAPEL STREET,
1-2 WESTMORELAND STREET,
DUBLIN

FARRELL'S

Telephone 73426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years. DUBLIN

Too good to waste . . .

★

KENNEDYS *Bread*

Padbury

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS,
BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals
produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order.
Our Service and our Prices will please you.
"Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET
WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

CLERYS

NEW POLICY

Mr. Denis Guiney's policy of lower profits and bargain prices always is now in full force in every department of this great store. The same quality you have been used to getting now sells at keenly competitive prices.

Dine in CLERYS RESTAURANT

Popular 4 course Luncheon served from 12.30 to 3.30 p.m. Special teas from 4 p.m.

CLERYS of DUBLIN

CLERY & CO., (1941) LTD. *Managing Director* DENIS GUINEY

McEvoys.

ODEAREST
Sanitized INNERSPRING MATTRESSES

for the rest of your life!

Trade Enquiries to :—
O'DEA & COMPANY, LTD.
Wolfe Tone St. and Capel St.
DUBLIN

ESTABLISHED 1824

T. W. & J. KELLY, LTD.

Oldest House for Pure Altar Wines

Price List on application

Offices and Vaults :—

58 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

Telephone No.: 73095 *Telegrams : "Threekays, Dublin"*

No connection with any other firm of the same name

T. & C. MARTIN LTD.

D'Olier House, Dublin

IRISH-MADE

Church and School Furniture

Telephone
Dublin 71571 (P.B.Exch.)

Telegrams
"Martin, Dublin"

Works: **NORTH WALL, DUBLIN**

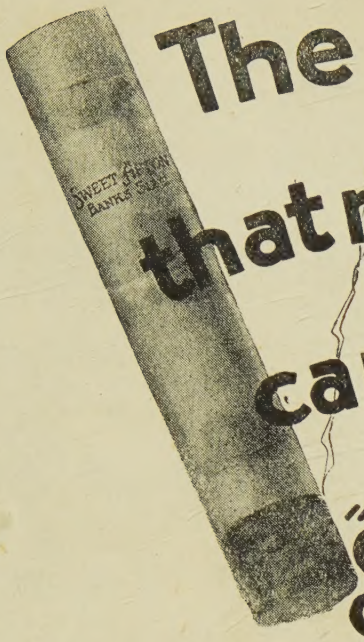
D. MURPHY LTD.

PROVISION MERCHANTS

Over half a century's reputation

25-26 MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN

PHONE: DUBLIN 75171



The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"
CIGARETTES

If you study dietetics . . .

Students of dietetics discovered years ago that, for genuine health-giving nourishment, cheese stands in a class of its own. People more concerned with flavour have discovered that there is no cheese made that can compare with any of the now famous three—Galtee, the cream cheese, Whitethorn, the delicious gruyere, and Three Counties, the new spreadable cheese. Remember *for health* and flavour they are unbeatable.

GALTEE, WHITETHORN
and
THREE COUNTIES

Mitchelstown Creameries, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN